National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, Editor. Without Concealment...Without Compromise. EDMUND QUINCY, JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, } Corresponding Editors.

VOL. XI....NO. 42. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 13, 1851. WHOLE NO. 562.

Published Weekly.
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
AT 142 NASSAU STREET, NEW-YORK.

Terms:
TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM.

☞ All communications for the paper, and letters relating to its pecuniary concerns, should be addressed to S. H. Gay, New York

☞ Donations to the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to Francis Jackson, Treasurer, at Boston; or S. H Gay, New York.

NORRIS, BROTHERS, PRINTERS.

Selections.

From the (London) Anti-Slavery Reporter.

The British West Indies in 1850.

BY JOHN CANDLER AND G. W. ALEXANDER.

Having been requested by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to undertake a mission to the British West India colonies, in order to ascertain, as far as practicable, the condition of those colonies, and especially of the recently emancipated peasantry, and also to inspect, as opportunity might allow, some of the foreign West India colonies, we left home, for these objects, in the early part of the eleventh month (November), 1849. We were kindly furnished, by Earl Grey, with a letter of introduction to the several colonial governors; and from Lord Palmerston, to the official representatives of Great Britain, in such foreign colonies as we might visit in the course of our tour, desiring them to afford us every assistance in their power. We were the bearers also of a letter of introduction from the Marquis de Tracy, late Minister of Marine and Colonies, at Paris, to the Governor-general of the French West India possessions, recommending us to his especial notice and attention. We were similarly furnished, at the request of Lord Palmerston, with a letter from the Swedish Government to the Governor of St. Bartholomew, and to the Swedish consul of the foreign colonies. Besides this, through the kind offices of the Foreign Secretary, we were assured of assistance in the object of our first visit to the Danish colonies, to which instructions had been forwarded to that effect by the Government of Denmark.

It should be premised, that this visit was undertaken, so far as the British West Indies were concerned, at a time of a general gloom and difficulty, consequent on a great change in the commercial policy of Great Britain, and the recent money panic, which had prostrated several large commercial houses extensively connected with the West India colonies. From these causes, the report which we have to give will be tinged with a darker coloring than we believe the colonies to exhibit at the present moment. In order to present a succint view of the several questions to which our attention was directed, we proceed to notice the colonies separately, as it will be found that each presents itself under an aspect somewhat different to the rest. Soon after leaving Southampton by the steam packet *Thames*, we encountered stormy weather, which greatly impeded her progress, and prevented our reaching the Bermudas until two or three days after the vessel was due. It was peculiarly grateful to us, after a rough passage of more than two weeks, to come in view of this peaceful group of "sunny islands in a stormy main," and to pass a few hours on shore. We remembered, with satisfaction, that Bermuda and Antigua were the first of our colonies to give unconditional freedom to the slaves,—a line of policy honorable to both of them, and which has been attended as a sound and righteous policy always is, with beneficial consequences. The voyage from Bermuda to Barbadoes occupied seven days. It would be difficult to a stranger, who has never travelled in a tropical region, to imagine the beauty of the West India islands, or the exhilaration produced by sailing among them when the sea is tranquil, and the weather propitious. We passed, on this occasion, within sight of almost all the smaller islands of the Carribbean sea, and touched at many of them. The mountains, the hill sides, the valleys, all clothed with luxuriant verdure and vegetation—the cocoa-nut palm—the broad-leaved plantain and banana, and the no less beautiful cane-fields, are all objects of deep interest to those accustomed only to temperate climes, and never tire the longing sight. And then the air is so pure and transparent, and the climate at sea so delightful, that the voyager finds an ample recompense for past fears and sickness. All nature—the sky above, the ocean below, the scenes on land, both near and distant, seem redolent with joy.

BARBADOES.

We reached this island, the most southerly of the windward group, on the 27th of the month, and remained there thirteen days. During our stay, we had more than one interview with Sir Wm. Colebrook, the Governor, who showed us much polite attention and kindness; and we conversed with, and obtained information from Sir Boucher Clarke, the Chief Justice, various members of the legislature, several magistrates and planters, and ministers of religion of the different denominations. We also visited the laborers on several estates, and inquired into the condition of the working classes who reside in Bridgetown, the capital of the island. During our visit to this, and the other dependencies of Great Britain, in this part of the world, we received a kind and cordial welcome from all classes of the community, and a disposition was manifested in every colony, and in almost every quarter, to promote the objects of our mission. If, therefore, we fail in correctly exhibiting the actual condition of our West India colonies, it must be attributed, not to the want of information open to us, but to the comparative shortness of the time devoted to investigation, and to our own inexperience and want of judgment.

The island of Barbadoes, with an area not much larger than the Isle of Wight, has a stated population of 131,741 persons. It is more thickly peopled, in proportion to its extent, than China itself. Its surface is cultivated like a garden, and the roads are good. We were informed that, previous to the period of emancipation, provisions, usually denominated *bread-kind*, such as yams, plantains, and sweet potatoes, were largely cultivated; but that a change took place at the coming in of freedom. Some of the planters believed that the continued cultivation of articles of food on the estates, by making the means of subsistence abundant, would render the emancipated laborer, to a great extent, independent. They resolved, therefore, to devote more land to the growth of sugar, and less to provisions. A system of this sort being largely acted upon, a natural consequence followed, which ought to have been foreseen: dear food necessitated high wages, and the land, for want of alternate crops, yielded less than before. Within the last few years, a return has been made to former modes of cultivation. The island, now furnishes, from its own fields, a large supply of bread-kind to its population, and at the same time grows more sugar, than ever it produced under Slavery. During the last three years of Slavery, the amount of sugar exported to this country was as follows: viz., 1831—379,052 cwt.; 1832—266,465 cwt.; 1833—384,791 cwt.; whereas, during the last three years, the quantities were as follow: 1847—469,021 cwt.; 1848—403,390 cwt.; 1849—488,625 cwt. The internal consumption, since emancipation, is estimated at about one tenth of the whole amount of sugar grown in the island. Provisions are cheap and wages low. The wages of a first-class prædial laborer, man or woman, are from 7 1-2d. to 10d per day, according to the season of the year, that is, whether in or out of crop. In extenuation of this very low rate of wages, at first sight oppressively low, the planters urge that a day's labor, by task-work, is usually performed in five or six hours. This, in many instances, is undoubtedly true; but the task so performed is fully equal to the amount of a day's work under Slavery, and arises from the fact, so constantly stated by Abolitionists, that a free man putting out all his muscular strength, because he uses his own limbs for his own benefit, will perform much more than a slave, who works without compensation, and solely under the stimulus of fear. The laborers on the sugar plantations of almost all our colonies prefer working extremely hard for a short time, and when their task is done, to sit down contentedly to their meals, and take rest. If not exhausted by toil, they sometimes devote a small remaining portion of the day to their own provision grounds. The first five working days of the week are usually devoted by the laborers to plantation employment for wages; the last working day, "Saturday," they claim for their own use, in cultivating their allotments, and to go to market. It must be quite evident that a laborer working only five days in the week, at an average of 9d. a day, will be unable, if he have no other means of subsistence, to live with comfort, and support a family. Happily for himself, in Barbadoes, as well as our other colonies, he has, in general, such means. Most of the prædial laborers, since emancipation, have been able to save small sums of money, sufficient to buy or build a cottage or cabin for themselves. The planter in Barbadoes, whose interest it is to attach labor to his estate—and it is no less the interest of the planter to do this elsewhere—allows his people to place their habitations on it, without charge, and usually accommodates them with a rood or two of ground, near or adjoining, which they hire of him, at the rate of from £4 to £5 per acre, per annum. This, indeed, we think an exorbitant rent for a landlord to demand, and it is one which yields him a large revenue, and the laborer submits to it, because he can do no better. In a very few cases, the laborers have been allowed to purchase, and we know of one instance in which as much as £200 per acre was given for land. The peasantry raise on their allotments provisions for their own consumption, or articles which they convert into money, and they not unfrequently keep a pig, a goat, or even a cow. Some of them, allured by the prevailing opinion that the cultivation of sugar, as the staple of the colony, must be more profitable than anything else, have begun to cultivate it on their own account. The canes, when ripe, are usually sold to the planter, or are manufactured by him into sugar, at a given price. We were assured, on the best authority, that one fifteenth of all the sugar of Borbadoes is raised by the laborers on their hired allotments, and sold for their benefit. The amount realized by the sale of this sugar, as well as the larger profits arising from the sale of other articles of produce, must therefore be added to the wages received by the emancipated people, in order to represent the sum total of their income. In reviewing these circumstances, we think, on the whole, that the physical condition of the Barbadian peasantry, though far from very prosperous, presents an immense gain as compared with the days of Slavery, and is calculated to afford satisfaction to the friends of freedom.

The moral condition of the people, although it presents some encouraging features, especially when viewed in relation to the past, is not to be spoken of with equal complacency. A people who were slaves yesterday, who had little or no mental culture, to whom marriage was forbidden, and whose children were not their own, but regarded from birth as the chattels of another, cannot be expected at once to become moral and intellectual, or to abandon the evil practices in which they had been brought up and encouraged. The perilous evils arising out of Slavery must necessarily continue to affect, for a long period, the community which has been subjected to its dire dominion. The truth is known and felt by the ministers of religion, and the friends of good order in our colonies, who find, in the circumstances of early depraved habits, a powerful obstacle to social improvement. In addition to the numerous parish churches in Barbadoes, there are many places of public worship belonging to missionary societies. The Moravians and Wesleyan Methodists have numerous converts, and some good schools. A large proportion of the common people attend on public worship, and a majority of their children frequent a Sabbath-school, but the day-schools are much neglected. Those parents who were once slaves, and who never knew the value of education themselves, manifest indifference to it for their offspring. From this cause, and from the want of qualified teachers to undertake the task of instruction, only a fraction of the colony are sent to a daily school—not more than four thousand, or one in thirty-two of the whole population. There remains, therefore, a wide blank for the friends of education to fill up; and until this important duty be attended to, continued complaints of untruth, larceny, and petty crime, the usual concomitants of an uneducated community, are likely to prevail. An excellent school for the poor has been established in the parish of St. John, by the President of Codrington College, which is supported, partly by weekly payments from the children, and partly from his own purse. The Moravians also excel in this department of enlightened benevolence. It is highly satisfactory to find, that in the public schools of Barbadoes, pupils are generally admitted without distinction of color; a circumstance which is, doubtless, owing principally to the abolition of Slavery, and the influence of some distinguished individuals, among whom, the present Chief Justice should be especially named. It was also gratifying to ascertain, that a superior description of education to that which formerly existed in Barbadoes has been recently provided, by a grammar-school in connection with Codrington College, to which colored boys, as well as white, are admitted. Among the drawbacks to the improvement and propriety of the colony, we were sorry to observe the incitements to waste, immorality, and crime, held out by the numerous shops and stores, in town and country, in which ardent spirits are licensed to be sold; a circumstance that must exert a baneful influence on any community, and especially on one comparatively ignorant. Some Christian patriots, impressed with this conviction, have established a Temperance Society in Bridgetown, which has, amongst its members, persons of various religious opinions, and has already exercised some beneficial influence. The legal condition of the peasantry is not yet on a satisfactory basis, especially as regards the precarious tenure of houses and lands, from either of which they can be ejected at a week's notice. A Landlord and Tenant Bill has recently been before the Legislature, but no clause granting a needful security to the tenant was suffered to pass. The planters continue to use the powers of summary ejection as a screw to extort labor. We append to these remarks the following extracts from a report of Sir W. Colebrook, inserted in the Colonial Blue Book, laid before Parliament this year, confirmatory of the views we have here taken. He says, "The condition of the yeomanry who cultivate the sugar cane with other produce, stimulates the ambition of the peasantry, who, since emancipation, are eager to establish their independence in the possession of land. If they could obtain leases of their holdings, it is probable that they would be content to occupy on this tenure, but as they are not encouraged to do so, they make great sacrifices to acquire the means of purchase. There being but little diversity of employment, the men and the women, with their children, when old enough, engage in field labor. Holding their allotments on so precarious a tenure, the wooden tenements which they inhabit exhibit no appearance of neatness and comfort; and the women who are thus engaged in external occupations have but little time for domestic employment, or to attend to their children who are too young to be taken out to work. These habits have also proved a discouragement to marriage; and, however to be commended for their industry, and in general for their peaceable conduct, the moral condition of the peasantry is unfavorably contrasted with that of Antigua. In that island, the early attention to education prepared the people for that complete emancipation which, in 1834, led to the establishment of free villages, and to those relations between employer and laborer which have proved alike conducive to the welfare of both.—Some attempts, however, were made to improve the comforts of the peasantry, by the erection of substantial cottages on estates; but as these were not obtainable on a permanent tenure, the laborers have generally preferred to occupy their own fragile tenements, which they could carry with them, in removing from one plantation to another. This unsettled condition of the laborers may, in a material degree, also be traced to the baneful influence of the system of apprenticeship, which marred the salutary effects of emancipation, from 1834 to 1838, and from which the laborers in Antigua were happily exempted. "From the large population of Barbadoes, extra labor may, at certain seasons, be also obtained; but the demand of higher rent for their holdings, which is frequently demanded when the laborers work off the estate where they reside, gives to them an equitable claim for constant employment. The disposition to check the natural distribution of labor has thus been more or less unfavorable to the progress of industry and economical management in these islands, interfering, as it has, in some cases, with associations for the performance of task-work: and, in others, with some useful branches of general industry."

CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE PLANTERS.

From the period of emancipation to the passing of the Sugar Act, in 1846, the planters may be said to have been highly prosperous. Land was bought and sold at very high prices. Some persons, anxious to possess land, bought it at an artificial value, corresponding with the high price of sugar, and mortgaged it to the amount of the whole, or nearly the whole of the purchase money. The interest charged on such mortgages was seldom less than six per cent. per annum, and the parties usually brought themselves under an engagement to consign the produce to some mercantile houses in Great Britain, subject to the customary charges on encumbered estates, for freight, and commission on sales. The Act of 1846, by suddenly depressing the nett price of sugar to little more than one half of its former amount, operated most disastrously on this class of owners, and plunged them into bankruptcy. Others suffered more or less from the same cause, and hence the cry of ruin to the planting interest became general. Such of the planters, however, as possessed unburdened estates, and had skill and energy, set on foot a more rigid economy in their management, in which they were greatly assisted by a large fall in the wages of labor, and have been able to resist the shock to which they were exposed. Some few plantations in Barbadoes, not favorably circumstanced, or badly conducted, are perhaps now cultivated at a loss, and only held as sugar properties in the hope of higher prices; but we are satisfied, from all we learned on the spot, that the great majority of the estates afford a remunerating profit, and that some of them pay extremely well. Land, which, under a system of monopoly in the British market, sold sometimes as high as £80 an acre, is now worth about as much, on an average, as good land in England; and, if economically managed, would yield a much larger sum, in the shape of rent, to the owner. The average price at which sugar is grown and made ready for the market, including all charges, but not including the interest of fixed capital, is probably about 12s. per cwt.; but we heard of estates on which it is produced at a much less cost; and were told of one proprietor, who, by skilful husbandry, raised sufficient provisions from his land, in one year, to leave his sugar crop, of more than 100 hogsheads, a net surplus, after paying all the expenses of working the estate. The plough, and other implements of husbandry, are increasingly used to lesson labor; and some of the planters are beginning to practice, at a great expense, the system of deep draining.

During our stay, we visited the prison, the lunatic asylum, and other public establishments. The prison is a temporary one, and is about to be superseded by another, better adapted to the views of the present age, in regard to classification and discipline. The lunatic asylum is a recent erection, in which nearly every patient is provided with a separate lodging room. Great care is bestowed on this institution by the Governor and his benevolent lady, who are unremitting in their attention to this unfortunate class of the people, and who patronise, with much liberality and kindness, the various charitable institutions of the colony.

BRITISH GUIANA.

Leaving Barbadoes by the *Eagle* steamer, we arrived in four days at George Town, Demerara, on the mainland of South America. The rain fell so incessantly that we could not at once go on shore, but rested, for a night, in the vessel at anchor, in a still haven.

The Colony of British Guiana consists of three counties, or provinces, named from the three great rivers that constitute its natural divisions. It was formerly a land of "mud and money," and now, at least, of mud and musquitoes. This part of the coast of South America, for many leagues, is so low as to be seen at sea only at a very short distance from land. Our visit embraced a period of three weeks, during which time we were principally in the neighborhood of George Town and New Amsterdam, the principal towns of Demerara and Berbice. We were not able to proceed to Essequibo. The sugar estates are generally situated on the sea-coast, or on the banks of rivers, and are secured from the invasion of spring tides by artificial dams, such as the people of Holland have raised to protect their little kingdom. The estates are all intersected by canals and trenches, after the Dutch manner. These serve at once for draining the land, and as roads for conveyance of produce. On our arrival, we waited on Governor Barkly, who received us with much kindness, and offered to do what he could to assist us in our inquiries. In addition to the general letter of introduction from Lord Grey, we presented one addressed to the Governor by the Bishop of Guiana. It was the winter rainy season, which we found an advantage to us, as the rain cooled the air, although, at the same time, it made the common roads and foot-paths muddy, and impeded locomotion. Our first perambulations in George Town, the capital of the colony, somewhat disheartened us. When the Coolies were imported into Demerara, there came over among them a large number of men unaccustomed to field labor, who, we were told, had obtained a livelihood in their own country as mendicants, and who were, in fact, the very refuse of Calcutta and Madras. Some of this class, and many others of weakly frame, we have reason to believe, had died of destitution. Of the survivors, we witnessed not a few walking or lying about the streets, almost naked, and apparently wholly unfit for the severe labor to which they had been destined. In many instances, these poor creatures were either unprovided, or ill-provided with lodging or food, and frequently subsisted on carrion, seasoned with curry, or refuse vegetables, for want of better sustenance. We also observed Portuguese immigrants, sick and emaciated, and dependent chiefly on charity, wandering about in the purlieus of the town.

Barbadoes and British Guiana are, in some respects, the antipodes of each other. Scarcely could two colonies belonging to the same Crown, and yielding the same produce, be more unlike. Barbadoes, though not mountainous, presents an agreeable surface of hill and dale. The two portions of Guiana that we visited are almost one universal flat. In Barbadoes land is scarce, and the population is superabundant. In Guiana, there is no limit to the land fit for cultivation, and the people are few. Whilst Barbadoes might well spare twenty or thirty thousand workers from its living hive, Guiana proclaims to the world that it suffers from a want of hands. How far this alleged suffering has been and is occasioned by the planters themselves, it may be worth while to inquire. The same system which, when freedom was proclaimed, was commenced elsewhere, of destroying fruit trees and provision grounds, in order to reduce the laborer to dependence on plantation work, was adopted in Demerara. The plantain walks, on a large number of estates, were broken up by the managers. This wanton act of aggression was seen by the emancipated people in its true light; and to remedy the evil of scarce and dear food, which threatened them, as well as to avoid other apprehended acts of oppression, they resolved, if possible, to obtain land of their own. Few owners of the soil could be prevailed upon to sell small portions to the laborers, and their only means of obtaining it was by combining among themselves to purchase the whole of some large estates, that had been abandoned, or were then in the market for sale, and to divide them into allotments. This was effected; houses were built; and hence the origin of free villages or townships, by which the labor market has become partially disturbed. The last official returns, up to the end of 1848, show that the emancipated classes had purchased 446 freeholds, some of which are subdivided, on which they had erected 10,541 houses, and the number of persons occupying them amounted to 44,443; or, on an average, four persons to each house. The entire colonial population, at the end of 1848, consisted of males, 66,540; females, 56,975. Total, 122,515. Few of the small freeholders have sufficient land of their own to subsist exclusively upon its produce, and nearly all of them employ a portion of their time in field labor. There are, however, occasional periods, when the work required on the provision grounds of the peasant interferes with that wanted on estates, and thus it happens that continuous labor is not always to be had, as in the days of Slavery. This has given occasion to the cry that the people are idle, which has been raised in almost every colony, and has been reiterated in England and America, until many persons are ready to believe that it is true. A sufficient answer to the charge may be found in the correspondence of our colonial governors with the Government at home, who generally speak in approving terms of the emancipated people, and in the fact of the large amount of produce exported from our colonies, which is now three-fourths as much as it was under Slavery. Our imports from the British West India colonies, including British Guiana stand thus:—Average of sugar imported into Great Britain, per annum, from the British West India colonies.

For the five years ending with 1834, the last year of Slavery		3,855,646 cwts.
Ditto	ditto	1849. 2,767,338 "

It is true that the exports of the various colonies, as compared with the period of Slavery, differs considerably. Thus, as has been seen, in Barbadoes there is no decrease, but rather an increase. In British Guiana the decrease has been considerable. It ought, however, to be remembered that this colony and Jamaica were instanced by Lord Stanley, when he brought in the bill for the abolition of Slavery, as presenting the anomalous and unsatisfactory fact of an increase of production simultaneously with a considerable decrease of the slave population. This murderous state of things, so far as regards the Creole laborers, is now happily terminated. Men, women, and children are no longer sent to the cane field and tasked beyond their strength, to supply the largest amount of sugar that avarice could extract. Mothers of infant children, who were formerly compelled to work in gangs, under the lash of an overseer, have, in many instances, withdrawn from field labor, and not a few of the young people have been sent to school. We have noticed the manner in which many of the laborers in Guiana have been partially withdrawn from the cane field, and we shall yet have to notice other circumstances arising from the mistaken, or less excusable conduct, of the planters and legislators of Guiana, that have contributed to the same result. One thing, however, is certain—that the happiness of the people, arising from the change in their condition, is immense; that human life is no longer wasted as it used to be; and that the means of improvement of every kind are furnished to a much greater extent than during Slavery. In this the friends of humanity do and will rejoice. It deserves also to be noticed, that much of the food once imported from abroad is now raised in the colonies: and, in addition to this, the laborers have themselves become consumers, to a large extent, of the luxuries which, as slaves, they only assisted in producing. We entertain no doubt that they would work more for wages, and less on their own grounds for themselves, if their inducements to do so were as great as they ought to be. The tendency of Guiana legislation has been, and still is, to drive the emancipated people from the estates, and to compel them to cultivate land on their own account. The colony, contrary, as we think, to all sound policy, and to modern sentiments on free-trade, has imposed very high duties on articles of consumption imported from abroad, as will be seen from the following table, carefully compiled by a merchant of George Town, and which also shows the comparative taxation on the necessary articles of subsistence in this and some other colonies:

British Guiana	27 3-4 per cent.
Antigua	21 1-5 "
Trinidad	18 1-2 "
Grenada	17 3-4 "
St. Vincent	15 "
Barbadoes	11 2-3 "

In proportion to the dearness of food imported from abroad, it is the interest of the laborers to raise it at home, and we have seen that this is accordingly done. Not only does the colony, by injudicious taxation and the application of native labor in the production of food, lessen the amount of exports, but discourages and alienates the best class of its laborers still further by the continued introduction of immigrants.

On the subject of immigration we must dwell at some length, as it is an important feature in the doings of this colony, and one in which we think great mistakes have been made, whether we regard the consequences to the immigrants, or the effect of their introduction on the general welfare of the colony. From a return laid before Parliament, it appears that, from 1834 to 1848, there had been imported into Guiana, of Coolies, Africans, and Portuguese, the large number of 46,514, chiefly adult males. The last-named circumstance we regard as utterly indefensible in a moral point of view. The direct cost of introducing this large addition to the population is reported to Parliament to be £360,685. But this is only a portion of the pecuniary burden inflicted. There must be added the expense of erecting and supporting hospitals, the maintenance of vagrants, the pay of an enlarged police, and the support of extended prisons. If the expenses thus incurred be taken into account, the total charge of immigration cannot be less than £400,000, and we believe it to be much greater. What has hitherto been the result of this vast apparatus of means and money let the following statistics show. The immigrants who remained in the colony at the end of 1848 were, of Africans, 5739; of Portuguese, 5083; of Coolies, 8,300; total, 19,122. Not less than 25,000, or more than one-half of all who had arrived during the previous fifteen years, had disappeared or perished. Some of the Portuguese immigrants, dissatisfied with their mode of life, or unable to endure the toil of the climate, had returned to the Azores and Madeira, but by far the larger part of these miserable exiles had died in or out of the hospitals, from the effects of disease or destitution. Out of 19,122 who remained alive in the colony, as above stated, only 12,872 were actually occupied as prædial laborers: some had employments in other ways, and many were wandering about in town or country. It appears that each Indian immigrant field laborer has already cost at the rate of £30 per head, and this sum will be largely increased by the cost, yet to be incurred, of sending back to their native country those who may survive the term of their contracts. Not only has the colony of British Guiana subjected itself to a heavy debt by a process, the tendency of which is to supersede Creole or native labor, thus entailing an intolerable burden on the community, for many years to come: but the planters, for whose presumed advantage the undertaking was commenced, are compelled, from the inadequate physical powers of the immigrants, to pay them in reality higher wages for the work performed than they give to the native peasantry. The system cannot, we think, be persevered in without ruin to the colony; and if it can, the question properly arises, ought it to be permitted? England is not yet, we should hope, so famished for want of sugar as to obtain it by heaping debt on its colonies, and destroying the lives of immigrants by labors to which they are unequal. The public hospitals in Demerara and Berbice, especially the former, have been erected at a great expense, and are highly creditable to the colony, both as regards their accomodation and management; but no hospital, however good, nor any management, however humane, can be expected to overcome the tendency to disease in men unfitted by their previous habits, and still more by their physical constitution, for the toil of the cane fields in the humid climate of Guiana. In the years 1847 and 1848, the last two years in which immigration was carried on to any considerable extent, after time had been given for the selection from abroad of healthy and able-bodied laborers, and the best mode of treatment had become well known to the medical officers of the colony, the mortality was still very great. There died, in these two years, of Africans, 369; of Portuguese, 1749; and of Coolies, 1160; or an average of 1639 for each year, out of a population of immigrants of less than 24,000.—a rate of mortality which, if it were to become general, would, in a few years, depopulate the globe. We may add, in concluding this portion of our subject, that on several estates that we visited, the huts provided for the immigrant, or other laborers, were far from satisfactory. This was especially the case on an estate belonging to one of the most influential resident proprietors, and which is let to a person in the colony. Close to the entrance of this estate, and opposite to the residence of the lessee, is a shop, in which ardent spirits, with other articles, are exposed for sale. The road to the laborers' cottages was almost unpassable, and their dwellings exhibited an utter want of comfort and neatness. We have much reason to fear that the well-being of the laborer is but little regarded by the administrators of many estates in Guiana.

The nominal wages of labor are a guilder, or 16 1-2d, sterling a day; but in crop time, it is said, an able-bodied man may earn half-a-dollar, or 2s. 1d. Work, however, is not always to be obtained, or paid for when performed. Numerous were the complaints made to us of the inability of the laborers, at certain seasons of the year, to find all the employment they desired; and had they not provision grounds of their own to subsist on, they would sometimes be brought to destitution.

The condition of the Creole laborers, who are located in free villages, is, with some exceptions, superior to those of the same class on estates; but they are less prosperous than they are often represented to be, partly in consequence of the heavy taxation which presses on them, and partly from the circumstance, that in many instances the whole of the purchase money for the land, on which their villages are built, has not been paid. The title deeds, in such cases, are still in the hands of the original owners, as mortgages, and no title or transport can be obtained to the separate holdings. Some of these settlements are already complicated with law difficulties, and will require a special act of the Colonial Legislature to set them free. The houses which the peasantry have built for themselves are in general pretty good, consisting of two or three rooms on a ground floor; and in some instances they are of a superior character, and well furnished. Many of the free villages are deficient in drainage; and in some of them we regretted to find ill-constructed and over-crowded dwellings, which must prove injurious to health, and no less unfriendly to morals and elevation of character.

There are thirty-three Episcopal churches and chapels, at which there is an attendance of rather more than ten thousand persons, and fifty-four other places of public worship, which are attended by double that number. Within the last two or three years, the children in day schools had decreased from 7157 to 5807, and in the Sabbath schools in a slighter degree. This decrease is to be attributed to the diminished wages of the peasantry and their oppressive taxation. The ministers of the English, Romish, Presbyterian, and Dutch Reform Churches are paid by salaries out of the colonial chest. The missionaries sent out by different religious societies in Great Britain derive their support wholly or in part from their respective congregations. It is to the missionaries, chiefly, that the black and colored people resort for religious instruction. We were highly gratified in visiting some of the Sabbath schools connected with missionary chapels, which are attended not only by children but adults, and we cannot doubt that they exert a highly beneficial influence. The day schools also, although the attendance for the present is less than it has been, present a bright aspect, when compared with the utter ignorance of letters to which, during the period of Slavery, the children of the peasantry were condemned.

A few years since, when wages were higher, the laborers contributed largely to the erection of chapels and school houses, and they were then ready to pay for the education of their children. They now want the profit of their children's labor, and are less willing and less able to send them to school. This is a powerful hindrance to improvement, nor is this all we have to regret. Spirit stores are licensed for the sake of the revenue, and rum is largely consumed. The effect, on the character of the Creole peasantry, by the late large introduction of immigrants is also deeply to be deplored. How can a community, who were a few years since subjected to Slavery, the most degrading of all institutions, be expected to advance rapidly in civilization and morals, when ignorant and superstitious Africans, taken from the holds of slave ships, and idolatrous and sensual Hindoos, are poured in amongst them to mix with their families and influence their youth?—"Men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles."

The following extract from an official report laid before Parliament may be taken as a fair description of the emancipated people in the colony:

"On the general condition of the laboring population of the district, little can be added to my former report; commonly they are quiet, peaceable, and industrious. Crime of a serious nature is not on the increase among them; there is no squatting. As in most other parts of the colony, there exists an indisposition among parents to educate their children, arising from their ignorance of the benefits of instruction, and consequent unwillingness to pay for a future advantage of which they themselves cannot partake."—*Par. Pap.* 297. 1849 *Appendix.*

In reference to the public establishments of Guiana, we have already spoken favorably of the hospital in Demerara and Berbice. A very different statement must be made respecting an asylum for the insane, close to the hospital in George Town, and which is the most wretched, in every respect, that we have ever seen, and wholly unfit to be tenanted by any human being. Neither can a good report be given of the prison at George Town, which requires to be much improved. A poor house near the town is still more in need of improvement, and is a wretched receptacle for nearly two hundred inmates, about one-half of whom, at the period of our visit, were Coolies, and not a few of these nearly in a state of nudity. How strikingly does the niggardliness evinced in some of these establishments contrast with the enormous sums devoted to immigration. We did not visit the penal settlement in Essequibo, and cannot, therefore, form any judgment of its condition; but if the state of the public establishments of a country be some criterion of the character of the people and government,—and we believe it to be such,—large reforms are urgently needful in British Guiana.

The laws most complained of in this colony are those which relate to licenses and contracts for labor. The former affect all classes of the community; the latter, the immigrant laborers in particular. The system of licensing is not only extremely heavy penalties it inflicts, but it impedes every class of industry, with the exception of agricultural labor, and seriously restricts the right of locomotion. No person can expose bread or any article of food for sale, without a shop license, for which he has to pay twenty dollars per annum, or sell them in town or country without a huckster's license, which costs ten dollars for the town, and another ten dollars for the country districts. The laborer, who needs a corial, or boat to move up and down the rivers and creeks, the great highways of the colony, must pay sums varying from two to four dollars per annum, for exercising that right. This is most oppressive, and whatever may be thought of it by the planters, such legislative enactments tend to destroy all confidence between the laborer and his employer, and should be discountenanced by the Home Government.

The latter class of laws more particularly affect the immigrant laborers. These people, brought into the colony either at the expense of the Imperial Treasury, as in the case of liberated Africans, or at the expense of the Colonial Treasury, as in the case of the Coolies and Portuguese, are subject to compulsory contracts to labor on plantations *exclusively* for a period of years, without distinction of sex or age, above mere childhood. Should they attempt during this period—technically called "industrial residence," but really a state of semi-slavery—to better their condition by accepting engagements off the estates, they are then subjected to a special monthly tax, varying from one dollar to a dollar and a half, according to circumstances, payable in *advance*, for the enjoyment of that right. Among the stringent regulations of the law, and which remind us of the olden time of Slavery, is the one which renders any immigrant laborer liable to be taken up, if found beyond two miles of the estate to which he is indentured, without a pass. Apart from its truly servile character, we need scarcely say, that such a regulation must interfere with many necessary and laudable acts, and places the laborer completely within the power of the master. Another point is worthy of notice:—All the laws affecting the laborers are enforced by heavy fines and imprisonment, with hard labor in the penal-gang. This is the substitute for the cart-whip. Thus, a laborer selling a loaf of bread without a license, or moving from one side of a river or creek to another, in his coriol, without a license, and not having wherewithal to pay the fines and expenses inflicted upon him, is classed with felons, and worked with them in the penal-gang, in the goal-dress. An immigrant failing to fulfil the terms of his compulsory contract, is subjected to the same degrading discipline. The evils of Slavery are thus perpetuated, with the additional bitter ingredient of the contamination contracted by offenders of this class being associated in punishment with criminals. These things ought not to be so.

We present a slight sketch of the progress of taxation in British Guiana. The amount of taxes imposed upon the people of that colony, in 1836, was 392,325 dollars; and at the commencement of the immigration project, in 1840, 700 918 dollars; in 1841, 1,145,870 dollars; and in 1842, 1,103,102. During the next five years, ending with 1846, the amount levied was, on the average, 845,272 dollars per annum. In 1847 it was 1,135,507 dollars, and in 1848, 1,083,981 dollars. Besides this heavy taxation, which must be most injuriously felt in an impoverished community, the colony has been loaded with a debt which will hang upon it for years to come, and which it is now proposed to increase to the extent of £400,000, for the importation of 10,000 additional Coolies and to complete the Demerara railway,—the latter a private undertaking, but in which the public have an interest. On the application of the funds or credit of the colony to immigration purposes, we shall only add to the remarks made, that we deem it an act of gross injustice to the Creole laborers in the colony, and opposed to all humane principles, and to sound policy.

(*To be continued.*)

From The Liberator.

SAMUEL ATKINS ELIOT.

The annexed letter was lately received by Mr. Garrison from a gentleman of this city of the highest respectability. Though not intended for publication, Mr Garrison thought that the fairest way of presenting the statement was to print it entire, without the name of the author. We have made it the text of some strictures on Mr. Eliot's course in Congress. The article to which he alludes was not an original article first appearing in the *Liberator*, but one copied from a contemporary, though the credit was accidentally omitted. It will be found among the 'Selections' of the *Liberator* of Jan. 24th. Still, the duty of correcting an erroneous statement of facts, whether original or copied, is equally obligatory in both cases, and is most cheerfully made.

But while we thus cheerfully admit the correction of the mistakes of fact into which our contemporary had fallen, we cannot say that the authentic statement of our correspondent in any material degree modifies the opinion we hold of Mr. Eliot for the public crime of which he has been guilty. We do not doubt that Mr. Eliot has been personally kind to Mr. Henson, and that our Correspondent's representation of its extent, and the inconvenience attending it, are quite correct. But Mr. Eliot must not expect to shelter himself from the execration justly due to his offences in Congress behind his acts of kindness to a favorite negro. Mr. Henson is personally obliged to him, we dare say, and we know that he can visit Boston without danger, his freedom having been bought; but what consolation is this to hundreds of terror-stricken men, as good and as worthy of compassion as Mr. Henson, whose homes have been broken up, whose new prospects in life blasted, whose peace of mind destroyed, who have been obliged to fly a second time from before the face of white Republicans, or whose lives are made bitter to them, if they remain, and all through the instrumentality of Mr. Eliot? When Long was marched, handcuffed, down Broadway, when he stood on the auction-block at Richmond, when he was hurried to his hopeless captivity at the Far South, would it have been any comfort to him to have known that one of the men through whose agency all this calamity was brought upon him, had lent large sums of money to Mr. Henson? Mr. Eliot cannot purchase his absolution at so cheap a rate. Though he had endowed Mr. Henson with his whole fortune, be the same less or more, it would in no wise dissipate the cloud which blackens over his fame.

Neither does the fact that Mr. Henson was frequently at Mr. Eliot's house after the passage of the Fugitive Bill, and expressed to our Correspondent 'the same confidence in, and attachment for him as before,' at all affect the moral character of that individual's public actions. It only proves that Mr. Henson is a time-serving sycophant, unworthy to represent and unfit to be entrusted with the interests of his people. We had always a suspicion that this was the case, but now we know it. A man who had been a slave, who was the agent of fugitive slaves, accepting the help and flattering the vanity of one who had just done the cruelest of wrongs to all his race! Mr. Henson's business, had he been a man of honesty and spirit, should have been to devote himself to raising money, not for the purposes of furthering his mission, but of wiping out his obligations to Mr. Eliot, and of washing his hands of all connection with him. Had he been such a man, he would have scorned to degrade himself by crossing the threshhold or touching the hand of the two-faced enemy of his people.

This feeling respecting Mr. Henson's character, which has been confirmed only, not created, by the communication of our Correspondent, may, perhaps, explain to him why some of Mr. Garrison's acquaintances may have declined giving him money. Our excellent Correspondent probably labors under the common impression that it is eminently the business of 'technical Abolitionists' to support missions among the fugitives in Canada, and to assist fugitive slaves after their escape. That, in point of fact, a large proportion of what is done for these objects is done by persons accepting that name, we apprehend to be unquestionable. But we regard these objects as no more appertaining to us than to any other persons of common humanity. The business of Mr. Garrison and his Anti-Slavery associates is to agitate and purify the mind and conscience of the Country, so that Slavery itself shall be swept away from the earth by the regenerated Public Opinion of the nation, of which constitutions and laws are but the expression and manifestation. Our mission is not to provide for the comfort and improvement of escaped slaves, or even the escape of those in bondage, though we are ever found ready, if our enemies do not malign us, to do whatever our hands find to do in these directions; but to create such a state of things that there shall be no need of Missions in Canada, no necessity of flight, but that every inhabitant of the land, whether black or white, may abide in whatsoever part of it pleaseth him best, with none to molest him or make him afraid.

We are, of course

tenuation of the acts they perpetrated to take them out of the category of crimes of the blackest dye. Our correspondent takes it for granted that Mr. Eliot believed that "the perpetuity of this Government and the Union of these States" depended on the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill (though we have too high an opinion of his own intelligence to believe him capable of being duped by that lying pretence, himself,) and that therefore his vote for it was a pure act. But admitting the hypothesis, does it justify the vote? To preserve the Government, he voted to pervert Government from its first object, the protection of its most helpless members, to their oppression and destruction. To maintain the Union, he voted to cut up by the roots the very rights which the Union was professedly made to secure. He consented to leave questions of personal liberty to the decision of tribunals unknown to, and forbidden, by the Constitution, bribed to decide adverse to freedom, irresponsible, unchecked and without appeal. He was swift to place, not only all fugitive slaves and all people of color, but the white and the free, at the mercy of perjury and avarice,—for our correspondent need not be told that Slavery has no prejudice of color. All the safeguards of personal freedom which the wisdom of ages had devised, which the Revolution was fought to vindicate, and the Constitution, in profession at least, framed to secure, seemed of no account to the Representative of Boston, when weighed against the threats and blustering of slaveholding bullies. This is a small part of what Mr. Eliot did. Is it not fair and reasonable to believe that he meant to do it?

We know that Mr. Eliot, in the letter which was extorted from him by the universal roar of indignation with which the Bill of Abominations was received at the North, justified himself on the ground that the Constitution providing for the rendition of fugitives, he was bound to vote for some law for carrying it into effect. But was there not a law already? Was he bound to vote for a bill which he says he did not entirely approve? Did he not vote for the Previous Question, by which all discussion and amendment was cut off? He cannot excuse his swift servility under the Constitution. Bad as it is, it required no such work at his hands. Was he compelled by the Constitution to leave the gate open for Slavery to enter New Mexico and Utah, if it pleased? Was he compelled to give Texas a territory as large as New England, to which she had no more claim than to China, for the expansion of Slavery, and to pay her Ten Millions of Dollars as an equivalent for not giving her more? Men will judge of the motives which induced Mr. Eliot to act as he has done from the acts themselves. The proportions of weakness and of wickedness, the degree in which he was cajoled or frightened by the slaveholders about him, the force of the personal and political influence of the chief of his wing of the Whig party, the extenuation which his deeds may derive from the weakness of his head or the aggravation which may be added to them by the depravity of his heart, can be weighed and adjusted only by a higher Judge than man. Men will look at what he has done, will believe that he meant to do it, and will qualify their opinion of him accordingly.

Mr. Eliot is one of those unfortunate men that have been promoted beyond their capacity. Of a very moderate calibre of mind, the industry with which he has been willing to supply its deficiences, and the leisure afforded by his ample fortune, raised him to some offices of trust, the duties of which he discharged respectably. In an evil hour for him, the vacancy occurred which, by an unexpected and unintended coincidence of circumstances, placed him in Congress. Like many men of narrow capacity, he is notorious for an inflated self-opinion and that dogged obstinacy of nature which strong men know how to use for their own purposes. Under ordinary circumstances, he would have lived out a life of respectable mediocrity, and left his children, at least, no legacy of disgrace. He has achieved a place in permanent history, but it is one which his children will one day wish blotted out forever. But it can never be. Men never forget such passages as these. Tariffs, Banks, Free Trade, all political and economical schemes are forgotten, and their advocates with them. But acts which strike at the root of human rights, which attack the permanent condition of great masses of human beings, endure forever. The profligate division of the profligate party to which Mr. Eliot belongs may endeavor to keep him in countenance for awhile. But the general heart of Massachusetts and of New England rejects him as a bastard to its blood. His name, which the industry and munificence of his father had made respectable, he has disgraced.

'Oh, it hath caught a taint of infamy,
That, like Iscariot's, through all time shall last.
Reeking and fresh forever!'

His name will be inseparably connected with the history of this State and of the country; but his example is one of those which Philosophy holds up for the warning and not for the imitation of mankind.—Q.

BOSTON, Feb. 14, 1851.

DEAR SIR:—In one of the late numbers of the *Liberator* there is an article which is unjust to the character of the person to whom it relates; and the facts as stated are wholly without foundation. As you aim to bring out the truth, and to dispel error, and to give justice to all, according to your own views, I cannot doubt you will cheerfully correct any false impression which may have been given by it.

The article referred to relates to the treatment of Josiah Henson by Mr. Eliot. If I remember right, (for I have no copy of the paper,) it states, that since the passage of the 'Fugitive Slave Law' by Congress, Henson has not dared to come to Boston for fear of capture—that he has avoided coming here, and that he has been slighted by Mr. Eliot and the friends in Boston who assisted him heretofore—that he was obliged to apply to the British Canadian authorities for letters to take to England. There may have been other facts stated which I have omitted.

On these points you must have been misinformed, and I trust you will not deem it intrusive on my part to endeavor to correct them; and it may not be amiss to say at the outset, that I do so without the knowledge or consent of Mr. Eliot or any of his friends, or of my own. Henson has been in Boston twice since the passage of the 'Fugitive' law; he was seen by myself many times, and by many others. He was at my house and counting-room repeatedly, during both these visits. He had no reason for not coming here, since he is not a slave, but a free man. He was repeatedly at Mr Eliot's, and expressed to me and to others the same confidence in and attachment for him as before. He could hardly do otherwise, since no man was more kindly treated by another.

In addition to the sums given to him, Mr Eliot with two others, loaned him, some time since, several thousand dollars for the benefit of his people, without any security whatever. And when, last autumn, Henson came here with a cargo of black walnut wood, with the proceeds of which he hoped to pay off the debt, and on account of the bad state of the market he was unable to realize but a part of the amount, Mr. Eliot gave him back a quarter part of the money thus paid over to him, without even a request from Henson, and still without any security but his own promise. This fact you may rely on as being exactly as here stated. I knew of it at the time, and, if necessary, could show you the exact amounts, the time, &c

Some reference was made in the article to Mr. Eliot's wealth. What this is I do not know, but think you very much over estimate it. Whatever it may be, he is not a man of money, and this very sum advanced to Henson was borrowed by him on his own note, at an extra rate of interest, whereas Henson pays but the legal rate.

Henson and his son have now gone to England at the expense of Mr. Eliot and his friends. One gave him $20, another $70, another $25, and so on, until enough was obtained to pay for them both. Two others, acquaintances of yours, wished him 'God speed,' but declined to give him anything. They have letters not only from influential men in Canada, but from some of the most influential men here, and a good outfit of clothes, &c., so that he has a good chance of succeeding in his efforts to introduce himself and his colony to the favorable notice of those who live under the same government.

You will hardly excuse me for the expression which I will now express; and as it is only an opinion, the expression of it can do no harm; and that is, that Mr. Eliot's motives in voting for the 'Fugitive Bill' were as pure as any act of his life. He loves the black race more than most men; he has shown it in many instances besides his attachment to Henson. But he loves the perpetuity of this Government and the Union of these States, (even under the present system,) better. In that vote, I believe he endeavored to do his duty, without regard to his own or the feelings of others. He is no connection of mine by blood or business, though I have had enough intercourse with him to know that he is always ready to go as far as the farthest in doing a kindness when he is satisfied that it is well merited, or when he believes he can accomplish a good purpose.

You will do me a favor by considering this communication as entirely confidential, for though I am responsible for the fact, I do not wish my name to be published in any public print whatever.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,

Wm. Lloyd Garrison,
Cornhill.

Correspondence of the (Boston) Commonwealth

ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
March 5, 1851.

Messrs Editors:—The following is a part of a private letter I received yesterday from a highly esteemed friend in Kentucky, which I place at your disposal Will the President issue another message, assuring the people of Richmond, that the army of the United States shall be called out to support law?

Yours, &c.,
S. BOURNE, JR.

WHITEHALL, KY., Feb. 19, 1851.

I have just returned from tea, and my soul is so full of sorrow at an event of recent occurrence in Richmond, (Ky.,) that I must water this sheet with tears. O God! is there no justice in heaven? No vengeance? Must the wicked triumph, and the righteous fall? * * * Let me give you a brief and, under my present feelings, necessarily unconnected and imperfect account of a transaction calculated to make the ears tingle and the heart bleed.

On Thursday last, Rev. Elward Mathews, traveling agent of the American Baptist Emancipation Society of New York, came to Mr. Clay's (C. M. Clay's, where my informant resides,) spent the night, and the n ext day left with the expectation of addressing on the Sabbath the people of Richmond, provided he could gain admission to the pulpit. This was denied. In the evening he was directed to the house where the blacks were engaged in worship. Immediately on entering, he was courteously invited to address them, which he did, chosing for his remarks the subject of *prayer*. Meanwhile a gang of "lewd fellows of the baser sort" gathered at the door.

At the close of his discourse it was intimated to him that the whites had gathered to mob him. He at once took his hat and walked out. The gang insultingly asked, "What is your business here?" and demanded the papers which they saw in his pockets, which were surrendered. One of them glanced over a pamphlet by moonlight, and said, "I pronounce this a right-down Abolition tract!" Thereupon they gave him to understand that he must leave the town in 15 minutes or "be tarred and feathered." His entreaties for permission to remain were unavailing. After paying his bill at the hotel (Webster's) he was escorted by the mob through the town, his coat was bedaubed with eggs, pistols were fired about him, curses, and cries of "*Kentucky hospitality*," &c., until they reached the little pond on the right, as you come from R. to this place Here they told him they intended to *dip* him, and a ruffian seized him by the coat, but he succeeded in escaping unhurt. At about midnight he reached James Dudley's and was kept until morning." * * * * (He reached Mr. Clay's next morning and spent Monday and Tuesday forenoon in writing an account of the infamous transaction.) But this, my friend B. is but the prologue to the tragedy. He desired to go to 'the Big Hill,' and asked Mr. C. and me as to the propriety of going through R.—the main route. We told him to go directly through this Sodom. Mr. Clay writing a short letter to Goldin of the Chronicle requesting him to publish Mr. Mathew's narrative. Mrs. Clay has to-day brought additional news. Says that on reaching the town yesterday, he was seized by some rowdies, taken to a wood in the outskirts of the town, and there told that they intended to *hang* him, the *rope* being prepared. He begged for the privilege to *pray* first, which the fiends granted, but while he was engaged (his hands being tied) *slapped him on the mouth*; after which they said they would not hang, but *dip* him in a small pond near by. He asked to change his clothes,—those he had on being his only clean ones, and was allowed to strip himself. They then plunged him into the filthy pool *nine* times, and asked whether he would leave the State. He answered, "No"—and was dipped twice more and compelled to answer affirmatively

After much more abuse, they extorted the promise that he would quit the State, and started him on the Lancaster road—telling him not to leave it until he had got out of Kentucky. Goldin refused to publish the communication. Where this poor, unbefriended, and beyond all question, sincere and faithful servant of Christ is, this dark rainy night I know not. One thing is certain, the God in whom he trusts will never leave nor forsake him, but will deliver him out of all his afflictions. In bitterness of soul I have prayed for him. The ruffians are Bill Stone, Shelby Irvine, Zeck Malanahan, Sid Turner, Hatch—son of a New Englander, who teaches, and occasionally preaches—is a graduate of Dartmouth, and several others. Not a man in R. has moral courage enough to bring to justice these hell-hounds. Much sport has been made of it; some tamely "regret." Mr. Clay is very deeply affected; *his* enemies have done this. He said to me at tea if *testimony* could be obtained he should prosecute them. What will be the ultimate results altogether, I shall not divine. Mr. M. has broken *no law*,—is an innocent, free-hearted, *non-resistant*, adopting and exhibiting the spirit of the Gospel.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Without Concealment....Without Compromise.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 13, 1851.

THE EVIL CONGRESS.

It is a common saying that "Corporations have no bodies to be kicked and no souls to be damned." This may hold true of that biennial corporation which does what it pleases with the character, the interests and the prospects of this nation, as well as of all minor ones. But if ever a Congress deserved kicking in this world and damnation in that which is to come, it is the one which has just given up the ghost in those convulsions of debauchery and ruffianism which have marked the ending of so many of its predecessors. It would be a bold thing, perhaps, to affirm that none to come can surpass its infamy (for who can calculate the possibilities of American wickedness?); but it is safe to say that it has bettered the examples of any that has gone before it. The Congress that admitted Texas, even that which declared war with Mexico, must hide their diminished heads in the presence of this newer and more gigantic culprit. Of the seed that they planted and watered their late successor has reaped the harvest and poured its poisonous growth into our bosoms. They robbed Mexico of broad provinces and steeped her soil with the blood of thousands in the process, but this latest born of time has shown the designs worse than robbery towards which the Nation thus stalked through crime and gore. It is true one golden remnant was saved out of the maw of all-devouring, still insatiate, Slavery; but it was only at the cost of giving to Texas a territory equal to New England for the purposes of Slavery and Ten Millions of money to help her in the infernal propagandism.

Slavery being thus excluded from California by the character of the population its golden sands had drawn thither, by the act of the inhabitants themselves, through no favor or goodwill of Congress or the Government, the balance was to be made to preponderate in some way on the side towards Slavery. So New Mexico and Utah were left without any protection against its incursions, but with every opportunity and facility for it to enter in and possess the land. In the face of the array of geographical impossibilities which Mr. Webster had conjured up to darken counsel and perplex the minds of men, we hear accounts of the actual emigration of masters and slaves into those territories and the violent probability that both, and the almost unquestionable certainty that one, will ere long demand admission to the Union as a Slave State. And as if these concessions were not enough this evil Congress cast the Fugitive Slave Bill as a makeweight into the scale, as stern Brennus did his sword, more as an insult to the vanquished than for the actual difference it would make in the result. Not satisfied with carving a new Slave State out for Texas, as a counterpoise to California and holding the door open by force for Slavery to take possession of the other two Territories, if it see good, it takes away from the North the trial by jury in cases of personal liberty, appoints dependent officers of the Courts to perform functions from which Hale or Mansfield might have shrunk, so fearful are the responsibilities and so vital are the interests involved, bribes them to decide adverse to liberty, and compels all the good people of the nation to be art and part of this national scheme of kidnapping under penalty of fine and imprisonment. These are some of the acts which will make the Thirty First Congress infamously memorable to the latest posterity. Other Congresses have done villainously, but thou hast surpassed them all.

It has been not more fruitful of public wickedness than it has been fertile in the developement of personal depravity. It has seen the Thunderer of the Wilmot Proviso break the bolts which he himself had forged, (if he did not lie,) and hurl the fragments at those who had dared to believe him to be an honest man. It has seen Whig Representatives, elected on the faith that non-extension of Slavery was one of the fundamental articles of their creed, bullied or cajoled into withholding the only sufficient security against its interminable spread. The posession of power has shown that Whigs become worse then Democrats when that fatal gift has caused their virtue to depart from out them. The frantic fears of trade, the delusive hopes of Cotton-Spinners, the desperate chances of Presidential possibilities, worked a magic change in the minds and hearts, or at least in the expression of the same, of the dwellers in great cities and villages where the voice of the Spindle is ever heard. The new thunders at Washington found their altered tone reechoed from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, not to mention the *minims* for which the law cares not. The members of "the real Anti-Slavery party" were the loudest to shout hosannas when the law erecting them into Slavecatchers was passed. One would think, to listen to their servile speech, that it was "a journey like the path to Heaven" to be hounded on by a Slavehunter on the track of a wretched negro, and that this was the main object for which our institutions were founded and builded up. If the tone of the press, and the voice of public meetings called for the support of these iniquties, are to be accepted as the authentic utterance of the sense of the general mind at the North, the Evil Congress might well boast of having as evil a Constituency. If it were true that those frothy and vapouring demonstrations of pro-slavery zeal fitly expressed the feelings of the Northern mind, one might well despair of the Republic. For a people that is swift to proclaim that it is not worth saving, cannot be saved even by Almighty grace.

But we have faith to believe, we have cause to know, that this is not the case. Bad as the North is, corrupted and depraved as it has become by its long communications with Slavery, there is yet left a remnant sufficient to save themselves, if not the nation. The House of Representatives, thank God, do not entirely represent those standing behind them. It is true, and it will probably continue so, that the worser parts of such a polity as ours control the better for a time, and that the *prestige* of success often crowns their worst endeavors. But this is but temporary and apparent. As may be seen in this very case in hand, unfavorable as it may at first sight appear to be. The more remote workings of the diabolical legislation of this Congress as to New Mexico and Utah and Texas cannot yet be discerned. But how is it as to matters nearer home? The suppression of agitation was the first good fruit the new tree of liberty was expected to bring forth. Has there ever been a time when the excitement of the public mind, South and North, has been so intense as since this olive-branch budded? Has not the very silence of Congress been a perpetual occasion of remark, whether exulting or disparaging, which was only agitation in disguise? And have they been freed from the intrusion of the National Spectre, by this magic line of compromise which they had described about them? Let Mr. Giddings in the House and Mr. Clay in the Senate answer. Then the Slaveholders were taught to expect a general return of their lost tribes, now scattered abroad among the Gentiles, back into their patriarchal bosoms. Doubtless they saw in beatific vision the multitudes that shouted Great is Slavery and Daniel is its Prophet in Faneuil Hall, in Castle Garden, in Washington Square, would proclaim a grand *battue* and drive their living game before them into their toils. How has it been? All New York, if justly represented by its Hundred Slavecatchers, succeeded in beating up and capturing one poor negro waiter and consigning him to the Gehenna at the Extreme South. One or two have been caught and doomed in Philadelphia, but delivered by ransom. And, in Boston, the only one seized was nobly delivered out of the fangs of the blood-hounds that had fastened upon him in the very den where only Slavery can lurk in Massachusetts. On the frontiers, a few fugitives have been reclaimed, but not more than the usual average on that debateable land.

The "being's end and aim" of this Congress, as of all others, was the making-up of Presidential candidates. All these demonstrations were part of the game played upon that chess-board for that stake. We have great comfort in believing that the basest of these gamesters are fated to disappointment. We must have a President, probably, but it is not likely to be any of the prominent players for it. Unless, indeed, some concatenation of circumstances may conspire to make the Hero of Mexico the successor of the Hero of Buena Vista. But General Scott lacks the qualification which made his subordinate and inferior his successful competitor at the last nomination. Blood is not enough without blacks. He must bear sable as well as gules upon his coat armour who looks to be saluted suzerain of these realms. It is as essential as sixteen quarters to qualify the suitor of a German princess. Mr. Clay has been beaten too often to leave him the sorry chance of a nomination. Mr. Webster has bid high and paid dearly for the lying promise of Slaveholding support. The Slaveholders know him too well to risk their interests in his keeping. They know that he is one, as Junius says of Wedderburn, "that treachery cannot trust!" A man that has been bought and sold all the days of his political life in market overt, though he may make a good slave, is a very dangerous master. They may flatter him and hold out hopes as baits to lure him on to greater lengths in his disgraceful career; but they will never consent to put themselves into the hands of one who they know would sell them the day after his inauguration for the chance of a second nomination. His scheme of a Union party to be composed of the worst portions of the old ones has met with small favor from the party which is now predominant in the nation. The Democratic leaders are well content that Mr. Webster should do to their hands the dirty work preliminary to the campaign; but they will be slow to resign in his favor the "round and top of sovereignty" which has been the dream and the labor of their lives. Whatever other evil thing this Congress may have done, we think we shall not have to lay to its charge the elevation of the Betrayer of the North to the Chair of State. In this charitable frame of mind we part with this Evil Congress, most devotuly hoping that we may never look upon its like again.—E. Q.

THE HUNT.

THE lovers of the exciting sport of man-hunting have no reason to complain of a want of interest in the chronicle of the present week. It is to be regretted, however, that the details of the various cases past, present, and to come, find no more fitting record than is given them in brief relations in the columns of the newspapers. A publication devoted exclusively to this subject would be in fact a current history of the Country, and, if illustrated properly and with spirit, might be made as popular and interesting as 'Bell's Life,' or 'The Spirit of the Times.' The following incident, or rather series of incidents, might be embellished with sketches so as to make a very instructive and entertaining story for the good and patriotic men who are advocates of obedience to all law. We should suggest to the artist, if he thought of introducing dogs into the picture, that they be ennobled—begging the dogs' pardon—by the faces of our New York Union and Safety Committee.

This letter is copied from the *Mercer (Pa.) Presbyterian* of the 26th ult.:

CLEARFIELD Co., Saturday, Feb. 15th, 1851.

KIDNAPPERS IN CLEARFIELD COUNTY, PA.—*Friend Gordon:* I thought it might be interesting to the friends of freedom who read your paper, to hear how bold the kidnappers are in this part of Pennsylvania. About the 20th of Jan. there passed by my house seven colored men. They stopped and got some refreshments, were tired and hungry, and in a hurry to get on. It was about noon. They stopped about five miles north of this place, where a poor colored man lives, to rest there for the night, not knowing that there were eight kidnappers almost in sight of them, and had seen them several times. But they had not enough of the baser sort of Pennsylvanians, gathered or hired, to warrant an attack on the poor, fleeing bondmen, who each had a large cudgel in his hand, and had some fire-arms along, I was told. The kidnappers stopped with a friend of the slaves for the night. He thought it no crime to keep them up very late getting the beds ready, and the breakfast was very late next morning. In the meantime, the Free Soilers were not idle, but sent ahead and put the poor fellows on the underground railroad. The blood hounds came on the trail with plenty of mean fellows to direct them to the poor colored man's cabin. There was a full stop there; they could find the track no farther. They offered five hundred dollars to any person that would show where the negroes were, but that was a thing impossible. After holding a long consultation with the friends of the Union, and uttering many curses on the heads of the Free Soilers, they took the road, and formed another plan. They sent a man ahead (one of their company) to the next settlement—a Quaker settlement called the Grampian Hills. He told the folks that G. Acheson had sent him on to take charge of those runaway slaves; that he had agreed to take them safe to Canada; he wanted to see them badly, as the kidnappers were not far behind, and I had given him strict charge to have them out of the way. He got a colored boy that was there to go with him and help him to find them. He got the boy up behind him and started off. The boy has not been seen or heard of since. He was born at Harrisburgh, in this State, and knew nothing about Slavery, or where they were taking him.

I hope the friends of humanity will have an eye out after the boy. The two head fellows from this State, who commanded the pirate gang, were one of the name of Bracken, from Johnstown, Cambria Co., the other of the name of Christy, from the south of Indiana Co. I am certain of their names. I think it was Christy that took possession of the boy. He had a hound along; he called it a blood hound, and scared the women and boys, telling them how that hound would tear up runaway slaves. They hunted round the north part of this county for about eight days, and could get no track of their stray chattels. They then broke up their gang, and took another road home. They had a couple of names on a piece of paper of some men in this region They said they would make them pay all their bills with the full price of the runaways. I suppose we will be called to Pittsburgh, in a short time, for not catching these stray cattle. If you think this information, or any part of it, will be interesting, you can publish. It is true to the best of my knowledge.

Yours respectfully, GEORGE ACHESON.

A correspondent of the same paper, writing from Ripley, Ohio, says that a fellow by the name of Gilbert was shot, a few days before, in that County, by a slave of whom he was in pursuit. The slave gave him fair warning; but the fellow still pressing upon him, he fired, and wounded the hunter so severely that he died in a few days. The slave afterward very foolishly gave himself up and was carried off to the South.

The *Madison (Ia.) Banner*, of the 21st ult., states that, on the previous Saturday, one George W. Mason, of Davies Co., Ky., arrested a colored man by the name of Mitchum, who, with his wife and children, resided about four miles from Vernon. Mr. Mason introduced proof to the satisfaction of Mr. Bassnett, a Justice of the Peace, that Mitchum was his slave and had fled from service NINETEEN YEARS ago, when the Justice delivered the fugitive to his master, who left for his home on Wednesday. This case must be eminently satisfactory to the advocates and admirers of the law.

The *Cincinnati Enquirer* of the 24 inst. relates a case which it calls a case of kidnapping, a point, however, on which it will it will not do to be too curious, as it might spoil a great deal of excellent sport. Mr. Charles Gibbons, who carried the anti-kidnapping law through the Pennsylvania Legislature, two or three years ago, and who is now strenuously and publicly advocating its repeal, clearly takes the most patriotic view of the matter. If there is a little kidnapping done occasionally, the lovers of the Union console themselves with the reflection that the best things are liable to some abuse. But the Cincinnati story is this:

A KIDNAPPING CASE.—But a short time ago a gentleman living in Greenup Co., Kentucky, a little way above Portsmouth, liberated four of his slaves, and they took up their residence in Burlington, in our State, in the County of Lawrence. The gentleman who set them free, soon after died insolvent, and a creditor of the estate, a Mr. S——, claiming that a man could not put his property out of his hands when in debt, employed three or four desperate fellows to catch and transport these slaves to their original home. The plan succeeded, and Mr. S—— had them sold at auction, and the buyer immediately started with his purchase down the river. A gentleman from Lawrence Co. took up the cause of the negroes, and ascertaining the direction the purchaser had taken, came down here, engaged eminent counsel and started for Louisville yesterday morning, for the purpose of arresting the parties there and having the legality of the whole proceedings investigated. If the case comes to trial it will involve some points of law that it will be well to have immediately decided

Another case is on trial at this moment in Philadelphia. The parties are a colored woman, called Helen—slaves, like dogs and horses, have only one name—and her son, a child of tender years. They were arrested at Columbia, brought to the City, and taken before a U. S. Commissioner, whence they were removed by writ of *habeas corpus* to take their trial before Judge Kane. There was an attempt made to arrest other children of the woman Helen, but they were so fortunate as to escape. A new question may arise in this case, should the woman be given up, as she is about to become again a mother, and her offspring, by a few days' delay, would be born in a free State, and so, according to one view, free. The law of Slavery, however, in this country, is that the child follows the condition of the mother; and as all fugitive slaves are still slaves by the Constitution and the laws of the U. States, the descendants of a slave woman are slaves to the latest generation, though they may all have been natives of a free State. But the Governor of Pennsylvania, we observe, takes the other view of the question, having recently made a requisition on the Governor of Maryland for one Mitchell, charged with being a kidnapper, for having taken away, with a slave woman and fugitive, her child, born in the State of Pennsylvania. The Governor of Maryland declines to act in accordance with the requisition.

A colored man was arrested, a few days ago, at Elkton, Md., on suspicion of being a fugitive. It was afterward ascertained that he belonged to one Commander Stribling, of the Naval School at Annapolis.

The *Camden (Ala.) Republic* records the death of a slave, shot by a couple of hunters who were scouring the woods in search of game of that sort.

REPORTS TO THE SENATE IN RELATION TO THE BOSTON RESCUE.

THE Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, to which was referred the President's Message issued on occasion of the man Shadrach's escape from the Boston Court-house, presented a majority and minority report, but as they were not laid before the Senate till within a few hours of its close there was no time for their consideration by that body. As documents possessing a general interest we copy them from the *National Intelligencer*. It is well enough that everybody should know that, in the opinion of the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, Pat Riley or any such character, may proclaim martial law whenever he thinks proper, provided he has a man-hunt on foot as an ostensible cause.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY.

Mr. Bradbury, from the Committee on the Judiciary, to whom was referred the message of the President of the United States in answer to a resolution of the Senate calling for information in relation to the recent disturbance at Boston, made the following report:

The committe, being called upon near the close of the session to consider the subject involved in the message of the President, deem it proper at this time to confine the expression of their opinion to one or two points presented in that document.

That the executive officers of the government should possess full and adequate power to enforce the execution of the laws will not be questioned; and the committee are of opinion that they possess such power now, without the aid of further legislation.

In the execution of judicial process, the marshals and their deputies have authority to call to their assistance, whenever it is necessary, the *posse comitatus* within their jurisdiction, and, to adopt the language of the President, "it is supposed not to be doubtful that all citizens, whether enrolled in the militia, may be summoned as members, and that it is their duty to obey such summons."

The committee are not aware of any reason that exempt the citizens who constitute the military and naval forces of the United States from like liability to this duty. Because men are soldiers or sailors they cease not to be citizens; they possess all the rights and are bound by all the duties of other citizens; and while acting under the call and direction of the civil authority, they may act with more efficiency, and without objection in an organized form, under appropriate subordinate command.

The Constitution of the United States, and the laws of Congress passed in pursuance thereof, being paramount to State legislation, no State enactments in conflict with them can nullify them, or exonerate the citizen from his duty to render them obedience.

When occasions arise (which must necessarily be rare) when the civil power proves inadequate to maintain the laws, the President is authorized by the acts of Congress of 28th February, 1795, and March 3, 1807, to call forth and employ, in the manner prescribed by these acts, the militia of the States, and the land and naval forces of the United States, to suppress insurrections and to enforce the due execution of the laws.

A review of the powers possessed by the Executive by virtue of existing laws, to which we have barely alluded, and the experience of the past, have led the committee to the opinion that further legislation is not *essential* to enable the President to discharge, as we have confidence he is disposed to discharge with fidelity, his high constitutional duty to see that the laws are faithfully executed. The committee, therefore, deem it inexpedient to recommend at this time further legislation; and ask to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

REPORT OF THE MINORITY, BY MR. BUTLER.

Mr. Butler, from the same committee, submitted the following minority report:

In submitting my views on the message of the President referred to the Judiciary Committee, it is not my purpose to express my dissent from the general and unqualified conclusion of the majority of the committee, to wit: that it is unnecessary at this time, by further legislation, to give the President power over the militia and military forces of the government for the purpose of suppressing insurrections and combinations to obstruct the execution of the laws.

There are some subjects of the message presented to the consideration of Congress, and which address themselves specially to the consideration of the committee, upon which I feel it a duty to express an opinion, lest by silence there might be a tacit recognition of one of the assumptions, and an approbation of some of the recommendations of the message.

Previously to the act of 1807, it seems to have been the implied understanding of all the departments of the government that the President was *confined* to the militia "to suppress insurrections against the State government, and to suppress combinations against the laws of the United States."

The act of 1795 indicates the occasions and prescribes the manner in which the militia shall be called out and employed. The President cannot order out the militia to suppress insurrection against the State government, without being called on to do so by the legislative or executive authority of the State concerned.

To suppress combinations against the laws of the United States, it is the duty of the President to judge of the occasion for calling out the militia. On all occasions for calling out and employing the militia, it was made the duty of the President, by the act referred to, to issue his proclamation as a warning to the employment of force. This provision was found in usage, and has had the sanction of time, trial, and experience. It is but the warning voice of a forbearing government. There might be some occasions when the interval between such warning and the actual employment of force might be of some duration. Other occasions might be such as to require the force to follow in quick succession to the warning of a proclamation. The order to call out the militia and the proclamation might emanate at the same time.

It seems to have been in contemplation by the act of 1795 to put at the disposal of the President a *quasi-military posse comitatus* of citizen soldiers, to maintain the dominion of the laws, in which they had the interest of citizens. It was to make use of one class of citizens to bring another to a sense of justice and a proper submission to the laws. I approve its wisdom. An insurrection would be much more easily quelled by the array of neighbors and fellow citizens than by the employment of a trained and organized army, whose only influence would be the employment of force. An overwhelming force might be employed in the first case, whilst the other might only be strong enough to provoke collision, and end in blood. Whatever might be the views of our ancestors, it is certain that until 1807 the militia was the only force put at the disposal of the President to suppress insurrection, &c.

The act of 1807 is in these words:

"That, in cases of insurrection or obstruction to the laws, either of the United States or of any individual State or Territory, where it is lawful for the President of the United States to call forth the militia for suppressing such insurrection or causing the laws to be duly executed, it shall be lawful for him to employ for the same purpose such part of the land and naval force as shall be necessary, *having first observed all the prerquisites of the law in other respects.*"

So far as it regards the employment of the army and naval force, the President maintains that he is subject to no perquisites of the act referred to, but that they are absolutely at his command for the purposes indicated.

The words of the President are:

"Congress, not probably adverting to the difference between the militia and the regular army, by the act of March 3d, 1807, authorized the President to use the land and naval force of the United States for the same purpose for which he might call forth the militia, and subject to the same proclamation. But the power of the President under the Constitution, as commander of the army and navy, is general, and his duty to see the laws executed is general and positive; and the act of 1807 ought not to be construed as evincing any disposition in Congress to limit or restrain any of his constitutional authority."

The import of which is, that the President may use the army and navy as he may think proper, under the plenitude of his constitutional authority, and that he is not constrained by the act of 1806, nor can he be restrained by any act of Congress. Being *ex officio* commander, he can use the army in suppressing insurrections in a manner different from that in which he is required to use the militia

For the specific and sometimes delicate purposes indicated, I think Congress has the direction of the President. When actually in command, for repelling invasion or for any other purpose, he must exercise his own judgment, under his constitutional discretion. In one sentence, I deny that the President has a right to employ the army and navy for suppressing insurrections, &c., without observing the same prerequisites prescribed for him in calling out the militia for the same purpose.

His suggestion in his message is, that he shall have a right to employ the militia, as he contends he has a right under the Constitution to employ the regular military force—that is, without notice of a proclamation. I do not think he has the right to call out the military force of the Government without observing the prerequisites of the act of 1795, and I am unwilling to give him such power in calling out the militia. I would regard it as a fearfully momentous occasion to see the army called out to shoot down insurgents without notice or proclamation.

The truth is, it must be regarded as a significant omen of the times to be told that a marshal, under his plenary power to call out the *posse comitatus*, cannot execute constitutional laws without resort to force, and that to be executed with the promptness of executive will.

Justice and the occasion require me to say that I do not believe the power contended for would be abused by the present Executive. The precedent for the direction of a mild and just President may be the rod of a power for a military despot.

A. P. BUTLER.

FEBRUARY 28, 1851.

THE SOUTHERN FREE-BORDER.—A plot of some slaves, near Brenham, Texas, to rise and escape into Mexico, has been discovered, and three white persons, who were supposed to be their leaders, have fled that part of the country. The slaves had provided themselves with several kegs of powder, guns, pistols, and other matters requisite for their emigration and colonization. A similar plan has been discovered also at Columbus, and defeated. We shall soon hear of some outrageous aggression on the part of Mexico which will render it absolutely necessary that she be annexed, and made a part of the glorious Union

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☞ A Portland (Me.) paper of the 6th inst. says that sixteen fugitive slaves passed through that city the day before on their way to Canada from New York and Boston. It would be interesting to know how many of these flying bondmen have escaped from the United States within the last eight months.

WE are indebted to Hon. S. P. CHASE, of the U. S. Senate, and Hon. WM. DUER, of the House, for valuable public documents.

Domestic Correspondence.

GEO. THOMPSON IN NEW YORK STATE.

WEST WINFIELD, Herkimer Co. Feb. 26th, 1851.

Editors of The Standard:

A convention of the friends of Freedom assembled here on Tuesday morning last. The Baptist Church was well filled at the commencement, and before the forenoon session was over, the people from the neighboring towns were in, and the house was crowded

The meeting formed a temporary organization, and the Business Committee reported the following persons to be the Officers of the Convention: George Harris, Esq., President; John Casswell, Jos. Hardin, Otis Simmons and Curtis Rider, Vice Presidents.

Mr. Putnam then informed the convention that Mr. Garrison had been prevented by illness from coming, and read the article dictated by Mr. Garrison from his sick bed, and spoke of the state of things in Boston, and of the crisis now approaching, when the strength of Freedom and the power of Slavery is to be tested.

The disappointment occasioned by the absence of Mr. Garrison is very great. Though the people of this region have not seen him, yet they know him well through the columns of the *Liberator*, and they long to take him by the hand.

The meeting adjourned for an hour.

The afternoon session was opened with prayer by Elder Jones.

Mr. Foster, from the Business Committee, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That, in a Republic, the only law known to the people is the general sentiment of the masses, and hence the true work of the Abolitions is to renovate public sentiment, and not to build up sectarian churches.

This resolution was discussed by Mr. and Mrs. Foster, Mr. Putnam, Mr. Ritchie, and others. In the course of the remarks of Mrs. Foster, she gave some facts in relation to the conduct and pro-slavery character of Judge McLean, of Ohio, who came so near at one time being the Free Soil candidate for the Presidency.

While Mrs. Foster was speaking, Mr. Thompson came in, and was received with hearty applause, and Mrs. Foster introduced him to the audience.

Mr. Thompson began by saying that "he did not like to interrupt Mrs. F.; that it was presumption in any man to think of arguing this question of Slavery with more power and ability than that lady and her distinguished husband had long done. He did not expect to add to what they had said, but perhaps the curiosity to see and hear the "Englishman" had better be gratified, and after that he would gladly be a listener to the words of Mr. and Mrs. Foster."

After some preliminary remarks, Mr. Thompson said, "I twitted a friend just now about his freedom as an American citizen; I told him that he could not travel in his own country with safety to his person and his life, because he hates Slavery. I told him that it was a bondage unknown to the despotisms of the Old World, for in Russia and in Austria a peaceable citizen may travel within the dominions of his monarch unmolested; but in a Republican America, not a man of you, the purest and best, dare visit a Southern State or City until he has first denied his manhood, and denied the God who made him. Yet you boast yourselves the freest nation on Earth, and scoff at the Kings and Potentates of Europe! I see daily here at the North the most abject slaves the Earth bears up; men who have dehumanized themselves; men who will not hesitate to perpetrate any act of infamy to secure to themselves the favor and approbation of the Southern slaveholder. At their bidding, millions of acres of free soil have been given up to Slavery; at their bidding Wars have been waged, by the side of which the wars of Europe become white like wool; for those who wage these wars for Slavery are themselves the loudest in their denunciation of all tyranny, and a people upon whom God has showered more blessings than upon any people of the Earth.

"Your land is a glorious land, rich in everything valuable to man; the soil capable of bearing all that is wanted for sustaining a mighty people; all of beauty and of luxury that heart can wish is to be found in your vast forests, your glorious rivers and your broad prairies; but one dark spot is on your land; one foul curse is here which, if you continue to cherish it, will sink your Nation to the lowest depths of degradation.

"Why have I come here? Why, simply because I chose to come; I had business here; I have business everywhere where Humanity is trodden down. You have cut off the slave from the sympathy of the American People. Your Statesmen, your political parties, your priesthood, and your churches, have utterly ab

the multitude so deeply at the glorious meeting there on the last Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims:

"Just Heaven! and has it come to this;
Has Slavery so mighty grown
That Northern men must be the hounds
To hunt the flying bondman down!"

A discussion then took place between Messrs Foster and Cornell upon the question as to the duty of Abolitionists to form themselves into political parties, or to join any already formed. The discussion was very earnest and very good tempered. The Anti-Slavery people of this region begin, as well they may, to donbt the utility of any political parties, for the present at least, and seem somewhat disposed to go back to first principles and preach God's truth to the people, feeling that the legislation of the land cannot be pure till all the sympathies of the great heart of the people shall be distinctly arrayed on the side of Freedom; and then, as a consequence, the legislation will be for Freedom. Yet there are many who still cling to the idea of "voting down" Slavery, and they are true hearted men too, who only need read the *Liberator* and the *Standard* to see the utter waste of talent and of strength which is made to sustain political efforts, which, though pushed with great energy, have not yet been able even to check the strides of tyranny, and in the face of which efforts the "Fugitive Slave Law" has been enacted and triumphantly executed in the land. Before the discussion ended the meeting adjourned for dinner.

In the afternoon the Convention met, and the discussion above named resumed until Mr. Thompson came in, when the question was laid upon the table.

Verily it is a truth that "nothing is made in vain," for scarcely had Mr. Thompson began to speak when an unfortunate Methodist Minister, who was engaged in "getting up" a revival of religion in Winfield, rose and undertook to defend the Methodist Church of the North from the charge of being accessory to Slavery. He showed much more temper than logic, and, after great effort, was persuaded to step into the pulpit by the side of Mr. Thompson, and invited to speak as long as he wished upon the subject. He said he was "as much Anti-Slavery as any man," and quoted what Bishop Hedding said, viz., that "he hated Slavery as much as he hated Hell, but there were some circumstances in which it was right to hold slaves." "Strike me," said the Parson, "and it is of little consequence, but strike the church and you strike my heart!"—(Foster says that in Church parlance heart and pocket are synonymous.)

He made several statements, in which he sought to prove the existence of Anti-Slavery principle and its active exercise in the Northern Methodist Church, but signally failed in proving any one fact which he asserted. He was asked if they did not commune with slaveholders? and answered, "he did not know!" He was invited to bring any documents in his possession in the evening, and prove any of his positions, but he declined doing so. He said "he could not make out what all this was about; how Slavery could be abolished by staying here at the North and talking against it. Why did not we go South where Slavery exists, &c., &c." Having put in his protest against all this noise and tumult of the Abolitionists, he sat down, and Mr. Thompson took the stand, and said: "How are we going to abolish Slavery at the South by preaching against it at the North? our reverend friend asks. What! he a minister of Christ and knows not yet the power of truth upon the human soul! Is Slavery walled up? Is it a thing which cannot be reached by moral influence? Is it not a thing created and kept in existence by a wicked public sentiment? and cannot a renovated public sentiment blot it out of existence in an hour! Why don't we have that renovated public sentiment before which Slavery would shrink and die like a reptile beneath an exhausted receiver? Why! because of bread-and-butter Parsons who have not got into the alphabet of true moral science. Tyrant masters, and Doctors of Divinity, who shake hands with crime because of the profit and honor they get by it! lick-spittle Priests who fawn upon the rich and great for their notice and regard, and who, when hard driven, weep crocodile tears for the slave! These are the men who have kept Slavery alive in this country—men who hesitate not, like Moses Stuart, to form any acquaintance with political vileness to crush the rising spirit of Humanity! O! these christian gentlemen! set vice in rags and see how they hunt it! Let a man steal a dollar and how soon they are down upon him! but show them the hot bed of sin, where theft, rapine and murder run riot, and they fold their arms and laughing in your face, call you a "fanatic." But let the panting fugitive from Slavery pass by, and at the word of Daniel Webster or Millard Fillmore how quick the priestly hounds are baying in full chorus on his track! You can hear them now. The Sharps, the Coxes, the Rogerses, the Deweys, the Stuarts, how bold they are when, in company with twenty millions of people, they are crushing one poor shivering man! Away with the dastards! away with those who hunt the image of God and torture his word to back up the hellish act! give humanity in rags—give us the hard-handed laborers of the land for the exponents of the gospel of Christ, and the drunken statesmen and hireling Priests may be left to die in their corruption!"

Mr Thompson ended his last speech at Winfield with one of the grandest perorations we have ever heard from him, and the members of the convention who, for two days and nights, had drank in the glowing inspiration of his heart, shook him once more by the hand, and, casting with tearful eyes a last lingering look at this gem of intellect and soul, went to their homes to call up a thousand times in future years the remembrance of the days of the Winfield Convention.

The reception of those true friends of Freedom, Mr. and Mrs. Foster, was very cordial. On our arrival, and as fast as the neighboring farmers came in with their families, I saw them throng around the Fosters and give them hearty greetings. These devoted lovers of God and man have travelled through this region before, and no small portion of the Anti-Slavery sentiment which exists so generally here is owing to their indomitable energy and perseverance. The work they do is done once for all; there is no temporizing the matter with them; all the Anti-Slavery men and women who have been converts to their preaching are full grown, and each, in their turn, not only a recipient, but also a dispenser of the Truth.

Before the adjournment of the meeting, a resolution denouncing the Fugitive Slave Law and its foul authors and abettors was passed by acclamation.

Prof. Bolcam, of the Academy, offered some resolutions, welcoming Mr. Thompson most cordially to this country; and Dr. Franklin also offered one censuring the base and malicious attacks of the Press upon Mr. Thompson, all of which were enthusiastically received by Convention, and passed by acclamation. G. W. F.

GEORGE THOMPSON AT PETESBORO'.

Editors of The Standard:

An Anti-Slavery Convention was held at Peterboro' on the 28th of February, in the Presbyterian Church. The spacious building was filled at an early hour, for the news had been circulated far and wide that Wm. L. Garrison, George Thompson, F. Douglass, the Fosters and other eminent leaders of the Anti-Slavery Cause, would be present. Mr. Garrison was ill at Boston, and much disappointment was felt at his absence. The convention chose officers to preside over its meetings.

The meeting was opened with prayer by S. Webb. Gerit Smith, Frederick Douglass, S. S. Foster, Job Barker and Mary Springsland, were appointed a Business Committee.

In the forenoon were two short speeches, from F. Douglass and S. S. Foster, and the meeting adjourned till afternoon.

On assembling in the P. M., Mr. Foster made a most powerful and convincing speech; he charged upon the people who elect the slaveholder or the friend of Slavery to office the guilt of all their acts for the benefit of Slavery, and made the responsibility of the people in this matter stand out vividly before the audience; he sketched the conduct of such wretches as Daniel Webster, Millard Fillmore and Henry Clay, and called on those who, by their votes, had elected these men and others like them to come forward and take the responsibility of the "Fugitive Slave Law." "The only two things," said Mr. Foster, "which the Whig Party knew of Zachary Taylor, when they selected him for their Presidential Candidate, were that he was a human butcher and an enslaver of the human race! For forty years he had been a butcher in the human slaughter house; and for that time, or longer, he had robbed hundreds of his fellow men of their earnings, and held them in Slavery—a cut-throat and a thief! and yet you who pray in your churches, Sabbath after Sabbath, '*Lord, give us good men to reign over us,*' placed that man in the Presidential Chair! You can never make the system of Slavery infamous so long as you place it in the highest position. The more you avow your hatred of Slavery, and yet sustain it by your votes, the worse is it for Freedom; while you set the slaveholder in the high places of honor in the land, your actions give the lie to your words. The work to be done is the entire renovation of the American heart."

Mr. Thompson then took the floor, and was enthusiastically received by the Convention. Mr. Thompson said, on rising, "I thank you for the kind and hearty manner in which you have received me. I had no right to expect such a reception at your hands if what the newspapers say of me be true; but you show by your reception of myself that you do not believe the newspapers, and certainly your credulity would be great if you did. I have been represented in the newspapers as the enemy of your country, yet I am not and never was its enemy. I love America! and long for her deliverance from the thraldom of Slavery, that she may soar, like her emblem, the eagle, upward and upward with her eye upon the Sun; that she may cast away from her limbs the chains which bind her down, and stand erect in her true position. You are Americans because 'you cannot help it.' I am not aware that a man is to be blamed in the matter of his birthplace; he is not generally consulted, at least I was not myself (great laughter); and yet people taunt me with it, as if it were a sin of mine that I was born in England instead of America! If I loved the oppressions of England, and sought to increase them, then might you hate me with reason; but, from my childhood, I have been the admirer of your country, and familiar with its history. I love your institutions, and hate nothing pertaining to your country but its Slavery. I am an *American*, for I have ever loved and pleaded for Republican principles, and in my own country preached them not wholly without effect. To be an American, truly, is to be a friend of Republican Liberty, the world over, not to be a lover of Liberty for your own sake, and deny it to millions of your brethren. *I*, then, am truly an American for I love liberty and desire to see it enjoyed all over the earth, by every human being. I am an American, for my love of Liberty, though I was born in England; and he who loves it not and denies it to other men, though born upon the soil, is a bastard!

I have been most basely calumniated in the newspapers of your country, and I have lately been called a 'miscreant' upon the floor of Congress, and no one thought it worth his while to contradict it. But I can afford to outlive slander, for it will at last recoil upon the heads of those who are the authors of it. I can appeal from a lying Press and craven mercenary politicians to the people, and the people always hear me.

I have not come here to meddle with the politics of the country. I have never taken a part in the party politics of my own country, and I do not find the waters of political life so pure in America that I am at all disposed to take a bath; I came in part to speak to the people upon the matter of Slavery; to appeal to the hearts of the people upon a question of justice and mercy; to ask for the down trodden the sympathy and aid which the Christian is ever ready to give; and for this I am denounced by the Clergy, the Church, the Press and the Politicians of the land. I ask the Church to do her duty to the bondman; she holds in her hands the key of his prison house, and can open it when she will; but she has forgotten the slave, and those who are under the ban of the Churches, are the only true Samaritans who poured oil into the wounds of him who fell among thieves."

Soon after the close of Mr. Thompson's speech, the meeting adjourned until evening.

At the commencement of the evening session, Mr. Douglass made a few remarks, with his usual success, and then gave way to Mr. Thompson. The house was crowded, and the interest of the people intense. Mr. Thompson made another most effective speech, the audience applauding at frequent intervals until he closed

The Convention met the next morning. The meeting was opened with prayer by Mr. Stickney, of 'Canostota.'

Mr. and Mrs. Foster spoke during the forenoon session; in the afternoon, a speech by F. Douglass upon a resolution by Mrs. Foster, and remarks also by Mrs. Foster.

Mr. Thompson then commenced an analysis of Mr. Clay's Colonization scheme; he made thorough work of the humbug; and, as he compared its parts with each other, the spirit of the people was roused, and they became indignant at the meanness and wickedness of this attempt to foist upon the country a cruel scheme of expatriation as a Christian and philanthropic movement.

At the close of Mr. Thompson's address, resolutions expressive of the opinion of the Convention upon Clay's Colonization scheme were unanimously adopted.

The Convention assembled in the evening again to hear a parting speech from the great English Orator. He spoke with his usual power; he paid a just tribute to Wm. L. Garrison and his brave compeers in the Anti-Slavery enterprise, and of the guilt of the Churches and Ministers of the land who, with few exceptions, throw their influence against the slave.

Mr. Thompson, during his visit to Peterboro', has been the guest of Gerrit Smith. For the first time these two great and good men have met each other. It is needless to say that they were happy in the society of each other, for they are kindred spirits. To each of them may be applied the words of Job: '*When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; when the eye saw me, it gave witness of me. Because I delivered the poor that cried and him that had none to help him.*'

During the sittings of the Convention, the following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That the recent 'Fugitive Slave Law' is a compound of meanness, tyranny and atheism, a law alike destructive to the liberties of both races of our citizens; and we look upon those who enacted it, and all who consent to sustain it, as among the vilest offeuders against the Law of God and the moral sense of Christendom.

Resolved, That the Church and Ministry which will sustain the Government of the U. States, as at present administered, is not the Church or Ministry of Jesus Christ, but an organized body of Atheists, who represens not the sublime and holy principles of the Gospel, but the depraved public sentiment of the country; a Church which cannot reform others because it is itself corrupt; a Church which ought to be immediately abandoned by the friends of Freedom as an unholy thing, fit only to be cast out and trodden under foot of men.

Resolved, That the recent rescue, in the city of Boston, of an alleged fugitive slave was not the act of a mob, but a lawful, Christian and patriotic use of force in support of the great cause of Justice, Humanity and civil Liberty, warranted alike by the Gospel and the Declaration of Independence, and we hail it as cheering proof that the spirit which resisted the British Stamp Act and threw the Tea into Boston Harbor still lingers in the bosoms of the descendants of the Pilgrims.

Resolved, That while we duly appreciate the kind intentions of those advocates of Emancipation who still adhere to the Whig and Democratic Parties, we cannot regard them as the true friends of the slave, but rather as belonging to that class who, vainly attempting to serve God and Mammon, are sure to forfeit the confidence of both, and whose highest claim to our respect is that they still consent to assist in holding their countrymen in Slavery, against their own oft repeated denunciatious of the system.

Resolved, That this Convention view all schemes ever proposed for colonizing the free colored citizens of this country in Africa as measures planned solely and exclusively for the benefit of slaveholders and the perpetuation of Slavery in this country.

Resolved, That we look with disgust upon the recent proposal made by Henry Clay, in the Senate of the U. States, to take the money of the people to carry out a scheme for colonizing Africa with the colored citizens of this country; that this proposition of Mr. Clay is an insult to the colored and to the white citizens of America, inasmuch as it proposes to rob the treasury of the people to expatriate the citizens of the Republic.

Communications.

LETTER FROM P. SHAPTER.

New York, Feb. 28, 1851.

Rev. E. D. Smith,
Chelsea Presbyterian Church:

Sir:—I have just taken up the *Journal of Commerce* of 23d January, 1851; on the first page of which I find *extracts* from a Sermon delivered by you, on the much-to-be celebrated 12th December, 1850. I have had this paper on hand from its date: but sickness, and other circumstances, not necessary to state, have, thus far, prevented me, from bestowing upon those extracts, that examination, which their extraordinary aspect seems to claim for them. To endeavor—though thus late—to do justice to this claim is now my purpose.

I pass by the first *two* paragraphs, which are merely vituperative, with a single remark, namely, that, with perhaps one tithe of their ability, and, certainly, not more than a ten thousandth parth of the RIGHT on *your* side, which they have displayed on theirs, you have manifested a *temper* to give to the unhappy Abolitionists a "Roland" for their "Oliver," and with interest.

Nor have I much to say to your authorities, which you very justly style "conflicting," (and one of them you very naively tell us "quotes no authority" for *his* dictum). I cannot but smile, however, that "conflicting" as you admit, and as they most certainly do, you draw an inference from them nevertheless, "*conclusively proving* &c"!!

Sir, those authorities are mere moonshine in the water, not worth a rush in this question, mere guesses of learned and ingenious men, themselves making theories utterly baseless, and drawing inferences from sources and *authorities* whose traditions have rendered so far as in them lay, the pure "word of God of no effect."

Why seek the impure and turbid pools of tradition, at which to slake our thirst? Why drag their shallow basins for a result, a conclusion, an inference, which, when we *have* obtained, must necessarily, from the source whence derived, be, to use a familiar colloquialism "as *clear as mud.*" We have the Sun of Revelation to guide us; why not seek its enlightenment? We have the clear and *perrennial* springs of truth at hand, why not rather quench our thirst at these pure sources? I will have nothing to do with the *guess*-work; I prefer humbly to seek light from the great Original, and to drink from these pure fountains.

I again quote the passage so often referred to in Deuteronomy 23 chapter 15 and 16 verses. "Thou "shalt not deliver unto his "master, the servant that "is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell "with thee, even among you, in that place which he "shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him "best: Thou shalt not oppress him."

There are here evidently *two* commands, perfectly distinct, and yet inseparable. Thou shalt not *return* the fugitive; and, *dwelling with thee*, thou shalt not *oppress* him. My business, just now, is with the former.

Apparently, you endeavor to occupy the ground, from which the great Veteran of Biblical Learning has already been driven. *He* also assumed, as *you* do, that the above law was *intended* to apply, and *did* apply *only*, to foreign fugitives *to* Israel *from heathen* masters residing in *foreign* lands. On this ground I at once join issue with you. I am compelled, of course, to employ in part the same train of reasoning, which under God, was successful against Moses Stuart. Craving the patience of those who may feel annoyed at its repetition, I promise to condense wherever it may be in my power.

And first, take away *this* law as *applicable* to servants of Hebrew masters, of *all* grades, and where will you find, in the whole compass of the Hebrew law, *another* law, controlling and governing this most important part of Hebrew property? Were there no escapes *from Hebrew* masters, *no* runnings away? That, you will admit, is incredible For, even among *us*, mere *apprentices* run away sometimes, and we have plenty of law to restore them to their masters, unless, indeed, a clear case of ill-usage or bad faith on the part of the master be made out. That, I presume, cancels the indentures. If you are aware of any law to bring back the *Hebrew* fugitive, be so good as to point it out.

Again, there are two facts inferrable from the Bible History: first, that in the infancy of society (as it were) there existed on the part of the patriarchs even the rights of ownership, in a very restricted sense, however, over their servants For *Abraham* had servants *bought with his money*, besides those born in his house. I know of but *two* instances in modern times which will bear any sort of comparison with the relation of master and servant, as it existed in the patriarchal age, and these are the Clanship of the Highlands of Scotland, and the relations of the Florida Indians with the African race among *them*. Some of the instances of resemblance are so perfect that merely to allude to them is all that is necessary to compel us to admit them.

I refer, then, on the one hand, to the intercourse of Abraham with Hagar, to that of Jacob with Bilhah, and Zilpah, and to the sending out by Abraham, of three hundred and eighteen of his servants to fight with Chedorlaomer and the rest; and, on the other, to the inter-marriages of the Indians with females of the African race, and to the indomitable courage with which the colored servants fought for their Indian masters. Indeed, in that case, all that is *now* well known, and, also, that the invincibility of their attachment which nothing could tempt or shake cost the Union, in that bloody and remorseless Florida war, forty millions of dollars, and the loss of our good name!

But in the case of the primitive Hebrews, there were priceless advantages of which circumcision was the index, and which leave, in any case, comparison out of the question. And in the 17th chapter of Genesis 27th verse, we read that, "All men of his house, born in the house, and *bought with money* of *the stranger*, were circumcised"—at the same time with Ishmael, by Abraham.

Nothing like the command in Deuteronomy *then* existed, either for your purpose or mine; nor was it then necessary. Abraham's servants were either born in the house, or bought with his money. None were the fruit of any *law of invitation*, as you deem that law to be, and none to secure their good treatment, as I consider it the intention of that command. But among the Heathen nations (and this is the second fact to be noted) it was *not so*. At what time they lost their knowledge of the true God, and gave themselves over to idolatry and all its abominations, I cannot say, and it is indeed aside from my purpose to enquire. One thing is however sufficiently evident, namely, that at the time of the Exodus, the Egyptians, with all their *learning* were sunk deep in idolatry, and its concomitant filth, and the Israelites so much so, as to render a new revelation necessary. One of the genuine fruits of idolatry is, cruelty to inferiors. And, though the Israelites had been so long sufferers under the lash of cruel task-masters, yet "evil communications corrupt good manners," and it is abundantly evident that they were prone to both Idolatry and cruelty. Throughout the entire Law, the uninterrupted intent of the law-giver appears to be to secure, both by admonition and especial enactment, the servant from ill usage and oppression. There is positively *not one*, so far I recollect or can discover, for the purpose of *coercing* him.

In the 21st chapter of Exodus 20th and 27 verses, there is a positive enactment, the intent of which is so clear, and that intent so plainly in accordance with the command in Deuteronomy, that I quote it for your edification: "If a man smite the eye of his servant or the "eye of his maid that it perish he shall let him [or "her] go free for his [or her] eye's sake." And if a "man smite out his man-servant's tooth or his maid "servant's tooth, he shall let him [or her] go free, for "his [or her] tooth's sake."

I might here drop this branch of the argument, for it would be mere affectation to doubt that it is conclusive against you. But there is plenty of *proof cumulative*, from which I select only *two* instances, which, though *negative* and *inferential*, have a *positive* force absolutely overwhelming. Why is the Jewish History, from beginning to end, SILENT as to the conduct of their servants? Nothing about escapes and the difficulties of recovery? Nothing about punishment? no "killing by inches," and amusements equally delightful? No insurrections; no servile wars; no Spartacus to peril the existence of the Commonwealth? No bullying threats (to awe the dough faces) of secession? There is not one jot or tittle of all this, and yet *our* History will be full of them.

Again: If your sense of the command in Deuteronomy were correct, what would necessarily be the conduct of surrounding nations in regard to it? As Heathens *they* could know nothing, and believe nothing of its Divine origin. *They* could only view it as a law of invitation, intended for their destruction. Would not PERPETUAL wars, against a people to them, under the circumstances, apparently so unfriendly, be the necessary consequence? Would not some energetic tyrant have found "Ye seduce my servants" a convenient watch-word to inspirit his troops, and to cover schemes of conquest and desolation? Look at the war of twenty-five years growing out of an act of the French National Convention, of a like species, and also at the case of the Creole, in which there was no statute of invitation on the adverse side, and nothing but the law of nations to govern the case. I cite these instances, and especially the latter, in which *we* were nearly drawn into a war by our redoubted Secretary in order to show how surely the Jews would have been involved in perpetual war, and, on *that account*. Now would not such wars, and the *reason* for *them*, of necessity, have occupied some space in their annals? Not the slightest trace is, however, discoverable.

I pass now to the other branch of the law, "He shall dwell with thee, &c, and thou shalt not oppress him." Approaching the subject with that humility, which a "mere worm of the dust *ought* to feel when the Divine Law is before him, I will endeavor to bring this command home to "our own business and bosoms," and to the relation in which we stand to the down-trodden slave, by a simple paraphrase. "Thou shalt not take an oath to fulfil a wicked agreement to return the servant to his wicked and enraged master, or, if thou hast unwillingly taken such an oath, thou shalt openly declare that thou wilt no longer, be bound by it. It is wicked to swear to do evil, even ignorantly; but how much more guilty to abide by it when the evil is made known to thee! Thou shalt not withhold from him, nor suffer to be withheld from him employment according to his capacity and good behaviour. Thou shalt not withhold from him the equal rights of the citizen. Thou shalt not *rob* him (as thou didst in 1822) of the right of voting on the same platform of equal right with an Englishman, Scotchman, Irishman, or any other foreign immigrant. Thou shalt not withhold from him the *restitution* of that right, as in 1846, nor shalt thou again refuse to do him justice, when the matter is again brought before thee. When he appeareth to worship in my temple, turn not thy face from him, but let thy countenance cheer him. I have put a cry in his heart, and I will hear him, and in my own time will accomplish it. Why should the Heavens be as brass to thee, and thy prayer fall to the ground unfulfilled? Why should I plague thee as I did the Egyptians? Do I not love justice and hate oppression? When the poor and the oppressed cry unto me, thinkest thou that I will not hear? Beware lest I smite thee, and consume thee as I consumed the Egyptians, and the nations hold thee in derision.

It will readily be perceived that this paraphrase might be much farther extended, without infringing on the personal rights of any person. But enough has been said to enable every man whose heart is right to extend it for himself.

If you ask, did the Lawgiver intend to abolish Slavery? After the fashion of our friends "down East," I will answer by another question, What would be the result among *ourselves* if this law were restored to its original authority, and to the reverence in which it appears to have been held before the adoption of the Constitution? Plainly this: The master would feel that if he did not use his servant well, he would run away; and if he did so, that he could not recover him. Small (*very small* at *first*) concessions would be made, and for a time the slave would be contented. But he would soon discover that the means of obtaining more important ones were in his power, and doubtless he would use them. Demands and concessions, frequently repeated, would render Slavery as onerous to the master as to the slave. And doubtless he would say to the slave, "take your freedom, and I will pay you wages." That the name *might* remain, I neither affirm nor deny; but that all that now renders it so odious and detestable, would disappear forever, I have not the shadow of a doubt. That the principle involved in what has been just said was under the law in Deuteronomy, the balance-wheel of servitude among the Israelites; the total silence of their History is to my mind a certainty beyond a doubt.

For the view which, previous to the Constitution, was taken of this law, I quote but one authority. But being that of a *Southern judge*, in a *slave* State, is conclusive. You will find it in the Charge of Judge Park, U. S. C. Court, Corydon (Va.) Nov. 3, 1818, in the case of Susan, a fugitive slave, (Wheeler's Reports, Vol. 2, page 594): "Prior to the adoption of the Constitu- "tion, the inhabitants of the States where Slavery "prevailed were exposed to many inconveniences from "the escaping of their slaves into other States where "Slavery was not tolerated. From the different views "entertained on the subject, it was thought unneces- "sary or improper to aid in their restoration. And in "the States, where colored persons were free, persons "escaping from their masters were made free by their "laws." Now in the very teeth of all this feeling against returning the slave, what was it that nevertheless induced the States to adopt the Constitution, with the base condition in it to restore him? Principally two reasons: one that the section is so artfully framed, that if Slavery were totally abolished to-day, it might still remain for all true legal purposes without the alteration of a single letter; and indeed it could scarcely be discovered at all (after dilligent search) unless pointed out; the other, that there was a general understanding, that Slavery, odious as it was, could not, ought not, and therefore would not last but a very short time. Now this understanding, general as it was, both at the South and at the North, is among men of honor, (and slaveholders are "all honorable men") equally binding with "*the parchment*"—equally with the written Constitution.

We claim the fulfilment of this understanding—this pledge. And fulfilled, we feel assured that it will be. At present, the South *can choose* between voluntary action, and the pressure of circumstances which they may *try* to control, but cannot. That they will still refuse however, "to let the people go" I cannot doubt. But let them not hope to stem the rising tide of public opinion by Compromises, by Castle Garden meetings, or meetings of any kind, by Union Safety Committees, by Fugitive Slave laws, or proclamations to enforce them. Men who neither vote for others, nor suffer others to vote for them, who would not take office if elected, who carry their lives in their hands, who feel that "one drop of Heaven's sweet mercy in their cups" is of more value than the possession of the wealth of worlds without it, *such* men are not likely to be driven from their purpose by *those* expedients, or *any* that are likely to be tried. They may recoil for an instant under the audacity of the assault, but only to return with renewed vigor to the field and the combat. Such men never yield; and if Slavery thinks that the Compromise (such a Compromise!) is a victory, it will not be long ere she will discover, that such another victory will be her ruin.

I now turn to what you say is the duty of a Christian under the Constitution. You enter your protest against being deemed a teacher of passive obedience and non-resistance. Your protest will avail you nothing. You preach the doctrine, while you seek to avoid the odium which attaches to the terms by which it is known. But neither can your very loose argument, nor the wretched drivel of the *Journal of Commerce* shield your true position from exposure.

It has been well said, that "Christianity is as old as the Creation." I understand that it was an Infidel who first uttered this sentiment. Nevertheless, Christians who read their Bibles, with a single eye and with love to God, and their neighbor, feel that the sentiment is true, and discern the same Divine Mind, operating both in the Old and the New Testaments—more clearly indeed in the New than the Old—but still operating in the Old to produce a result more fully developed in the New. Our Saviour came not to cancel the Moral Law as delivered by Moses and the Prophets, but by more awful and delightful sanctions, to fulfil them and cause them to be fulfilled. Now what was the conduct of those Christians before the Christian Revelation, the three children under Nebuchadnezzar, and of Daniel under Darius? Did these men *obey* the civil authority? On the contrary, with the alternative of the most cruel death for disobedience, did they not three of them prefer the furnace, and Daniel the lion's den, rather than obey? Did not the Apostles suffer as martyrs? Why? Was it for obedience to "the powers that be"? Or rather was it not for disobedience to the civil authority? Still later, what was the course of the primitive Christians during the persecutions under the Cæsars? The empire had suffered many calamities, and the soothsayers (the Heathen Clergy of that day) announced that the gods were angry, because their altars were forsaken in consequence of the worshippers having become Christians. The Government went to work at once with these Christians (the Abolitionists of that time) and wiser than Clay or Webster, laid before them the alternative of rewards for obedience, or the most cruel death for disobedience. Is it necessary to state to you the result? You certainly ought to know it. And if *you* do not, there can scarcely be another intelligent individual who does not know that thousands suffered death in its most dreadful forms, choosing rather to obey God than man. I might refer to the fires of Smithfield, and to multitudes of such instances, in all ages and all countries; but why multiply examples, all tending to one result, and to fortify the great principle of Christian morality, namely, that while in all things that do not conflict with the law of God, or are in themselves indifferent, our bounden duty is to obey the civil authority, when they *do conflict*, we have then no choice but to disobey it.

In what I have written, and in those points of the extract which I have attempted to investigate, Charity might hope that they were merely the flights of a shallow, yet adventurous intellect, very little acquainted with the husk even of Scriptural learning, and with no knowledge or relish for its divine contents. But a heavier charge rests on you. In the matter of Philomen and Onesemus, you cannot but know that you have wilfully perverted the sacred records by withholding those circumstances and those words from your audience, which if given to them would have shown that, instead of *returning him as a servant*, he was expressly returned "*not now as a servant*" [or slave] "BUT AS A BROTHER BELOVED." I noticed the same thing in a sermon by the Rev. Mr. Spencer, of Brooklyn, delivered perhaps on the same day, but not having the extract, I cannot speak with certainty, nor is it material. The same perversion may perhaps exist in other sermons of that day. I have *read* none of them, nor shall I. I read enough of Mr. S.'s to note the coincidence, and when I saw yours in the *Journal of Commerce* I was so struck with it that I reserved it for future use, and the present essay is the fruit of it.

Neither time nor space are left me at present to attempt an exegesis of the entire Epistle to Philomen.—How it should ever, at any time, have been misunderstood, is, to me, matter of astonishment. I can only account for the fact by supposing extreme hardness of heart and perversion of intellect in the commentator. But in the case of Mr. Spencer and yourself, you have both gone, beyond all precedent, yet deeper in wickedness. With the words close at hand, so close, indeed, that your pens could not have written another word without quoting them, you have both wilfully suppressed that which you know would have upset every word you have written. Can it be necessary to speak to you of the maxim, that wilfully to suppress the truth in evidence is a lie? God forbid that I should pronounce judgment upon you; or to say that you have left yourselves without a place for repentance. But that you have placed yourselves in extreme danger, and that you have lied most wickedly and wilfully, not merely to men, but unto God, is manifest.

P. SHAPTER.

OBITUARY.

Green—On Saturday the 18th ult., Mr Samuel A. Green, of Winfield, Herkimer county, N. Y. His physical energies had not been impaired by a lingering disease, nor his mind enfeebled by a destroying palsy: he was in the full strength and vigor of manhood; executing his business transactions, when the dread summons came. About noon of that day, with no indications of his approaching fate, he left his residence to go into a neighboring town to transact some business, which he did with his customary accuracy, and with that despatch which had thus far characterized all his labors. As he was returning he overtook two gentlemen, and was walking by the side of one in conversation, when he remarked, "I can neither see nor go." In the agonies of dissolution he bared his bosom, and was falling when his companion received him into his arms, a lifeless corpse. In less than three hours from the time he left his home, his family received the melancholy intelligence he was no more. The news of his death, so sudden and unexpected, fell on the ears of all like the earthquake's tread. This event so afflicting to his family, so distressing to his friends, has clothed a community in mourning. The sun of its glory has set. Mr. Green was in the forty-sixth year of his age He was born in in the town of Shewsbury, Mass. At the age of seventeen he became a resident of Winfield, where he continued to reside up to the time of his death. His life had been devoted mostly to agricultural pursuits. His kindness and humor made glad the domestic and social circle: his industry and simple-heartedness dignified every pursuit, however humble or exalted: his urbanity and high moral sense adorned the halls of justice: his integrity, disinterested benevolence and active exertions in behalf of the suffering and afflicted won for him the affection of those in whose midst he was the ministering spirit. His mind, naturally of a high order, had been cultivated and developed by extensive reading. Possessed of a remarkable memory, he would, by his array of facts and truths, rout and put to flight the advocates of error and religious intolerance. The usurper of civil rights, and the apostate legislator were the victims of his uncompromising fidelity to the great interests of mankind. Conscious of the justness of his course, he never faltered when the combat deepened.—Though others fled from the field, he was never known to desert the standard of truth, justice and liberty. He was the man for the occasion....He had long been identified with the champions of freedom, the friends of the slave. He was a true friend; an upright citizen. In the discharge of his offical duties, he was guarded by reason and mercy, rather than by the unrelenting code of an unjust legislature. The *blood-hound*, on the track of the flying fugitive, would not have received either aid or comfort from him. He would sooner have fallen a martyr to freedom, than have been instrumental in returning the panting slave to chains, servitude and death. Wherever he was known he was loved and respected. The sigh of mourning is limited only by the extent of his activity and usefulness. By his death, a vacancy has been caused in this community, and we look for some one to fill the blank, but we look in vain.—Though the waters of forgetfulness may roll over the recollection of his name and his virtues, yet they will live in the memory of his friends, and be remembered by the recipients of his bounty, with admiration and gratitude.—*

DEATHS.

Perkins.—In this city, Wednesday, 4th inst., at the Irving House, Jas. Henry Perkins, Esq., of Boston, aged 25 years.

Deacon.—In Savannah, Ga., recently, E. P. Deacon, Esq., a wealthy citizen of Boston, on his return from the West Indies.

Fisher.—At "Buena Vista," Del., James Fisher, only surviving child of Hon. John M. Clayton, Ex-Secretary of State under Gen. Taylor's administration.

Cincinnati A. S. Convention.

THE Anti-Slavery Sewing Circle of Cincinnati, earnestly invite all who advocate the doctrine that slaveholding is a violation of God's law, and a cruel wrong to man, and therefore, that Slavery ought to be immediately abolished, to meet in Convention in the City of Cincinnati, on the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th days of April next, (1851,) to take into consideration the present and prospective condition of the Anti-Slavery cause, and to counsel together on one common platform, in respect to the evils to be opposed, the difficulties to be surmounted, and the proper means and measures for maintaining and sustaining their principles practically and thoroughly.

There has never been a moment when Christian philanthropists could have been justified in relaxing their vigilance in the cause of human freedom. But at no period of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, has there been a greater demand for their watchfulness, and their earnest, energetic, bold and persevering exertions than at this time, when the mightiest powers of the civil government are yet more strenghtened for the support of Slavery by the aid of the highest talents and the combined influence of the American Church.

It is painful to reflect upon the fact that after eighteen hundred years of the promulgation of the gospel of Jesus Christ who came to preach deliverace to the captive, and whose very title of Redeemer is a standing condemnation of Slavery, the first principles of Christianity should be so little understood and felt, that three millions of the human family are now held in the most abject servitude under the laws and institutions of a Government whose Constitution allows more freedom of conscience than any other upon earth, and with the sanction of a Church that glories in its independence of the civil power. It is distressing beyond measure to see great Statesmen and learned Doctors of Divinity putting forth all the strength and power of their mighty intellects to dry up the fountains of human sympathy, and deliver the poor, panting fugitive to the tender mercies of the despot who claims him for his slave.

In the mortification and distress of our hearts, in view of this unhallowed combination, we call upon the friends of humanity to rally in defence of all that is right and true in the principles of civil and divine law. Let no slight consideration, beloved friends, prevent your attendance. The cries of humanity, the voice of your brother's blood, and the claims of Christianity, call upon you to make every sacrifice needful to accomplish the great object which you profess to have near your hearts, and to do all you can to deliver them who are bound out of the hands of the spoiler.

The weapons of our warfare not being carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds, we may with certainty calculate upon a glorious triumph, if we battle together in the unity of the Spirit and the bonds of peace, wielding with boldness the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.

For Christ and Humanity,
SARAH H. ERNST, President.

M. M. Guild, Secretary.
Cincinnatti, O., Feb. 12, 1851.

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Miscellany.

From Dickens' 'Household Words.'

Our Phantom Ship.

NEGRO LAND.

In our Phantom Ship we shall occasionally take a cruise, in order to see what is going on in various parts of the globe. To-day, we intend looking in for a little while upon the land of the Negro, chiefly with the view of seeing how he is first converted into an article of merchandize for the supply of the American markets, North and South. Meanwhile, we think it but fair to the voyagers and travellers who have preceded us, to give some account of their exertions, discoveries, and disasters, made and encountered to check the Slave Trade.

For a long while after the establishment of the Slave Trade, nothing was known of the countries whence Negroes came. In 1442 it was that the Portuguese admiral brought ten Africans to Europe, for the purpose of converting them to Christianity, and found them excellent as slaves. In the next year, some native boats were captured, and their crews brought home in slavery. The notion seized upon the public mind, and an association was got up at once for systematised traffic in Africans. In 1444, two hundred slaves were captured, and brought home.

The discovery of the New World set our wise and good ancestors a-digging after gold. That is to say, it made them urge the native Indians to dig on their behalf. We, degenerate men of the year 1851, have weaker nerves than were in vogue in the good old times, three or four hundred years ago; and we are silly enough to shudder at the barbarous bloodguiltiness of our rapacious forefathers. The Indians were found to be a difficult material, and were, moreover, being tortured rather fast into that great new world which each of us is destined some day to discover. So, in the year 1511, Ferdinand the Catholic gave his most Christian sanction to the importation of Africans as slaves into Hispaniola, that is to say, Hayti, which produced, in after days, Toussaint l'Ouverture.

The Portuguese had all the profit of the slave trade until the English put in their claim to a part of it. The first batch of negroes sold from English vessels was a cargo of three hundred, obtained by Sir. J. Hawkins, from the coast of Guinea, and sold in Hispaniola.

Well; flesh and blood being a profitable commodity, the trade in it very naturally grew. It became an important part of the world's commerce. So it occurred that curiosity became at length awakened on the subject of those unexplored regions which produced these black machines. In 1788, there was formed in England "The African Association," for the solace of geographers. Under the auspices of this association, two gentlemen, Mr. Ledyard and Mr. Lucas, went out as volunteers. Ledyard was to cross from Sennaar, westward; Lucas, starting from Tripoli, was to find his way through Fezzan to the Gambia and Guinea. Ledyard died at Cairo, Lucas was unable to reach Fezzan. The Association next sent Major Houghton, who was to reach the Niger by the Gambia. In the kingdom of Bambrook, this traveller, too rich in merchandize, was plundered by his guides, and left to perish.

Mungo Park was the next volunteer. Ascending the Gambia, and reaching Sego, the capital of Bambarra, he there, on the 21st of July, 1796, was the first European who saw the Niger. It was there called—for its name varies in each country through which it flows—the Joliba.

Other travellers followed, but without success. A student of Gottingen probably penetrated far, but perished in the enterprise.

Mungo Park then went out again, in 1805, under the auspices of Government, with three officers, and forty-two men. Ascending the Gambia, he arrived at a point up the Niger, having seen all his companions die except Lieutenant Martyn and three men. These made a rude boat out of three rotten canoes, calling it H. M. schooner "Joliba." In this they embarked, to complete their enterprise, by tracing the stream down until it reached the sea. They never reached the sea. The fate of Park was like the fate of Franklin—a long mystery. After five years, a man, Isaaco, who had been Park's guide through one part of his travels, and had brought the last news from him to the Gambia, was sent to obtain tidings, if he could. Isaaco found the native who had served as pilot to the Joliba, and learned from him that the Europeans had been checked at Bussah, by the rapids, and had been shot at while among the rocks, by order of the king, with bows and arrows. This account was confirmed by the admission of the king, to Clapperton and Lander. His Majesty deplored the accident, declaring that he had mistaken the party for Felatahs—an extremely lame excuse, as the incursions of the Felatahs are not made in boats. Quite a new version of the death of Park, however, is derived from a recent traveller, Mr. Duncan, who on his road to the Kong mountains, under a friendly escort from the King of Dahomey, broke from his friends, to dart aside into a chase after a good Mussalman, and a worthy merchant, who was said to have been present at the death of Park. This person, Terasso-wea, a man of note in his own country, was present as a young mallam (priest) at the tumult, and beheld the death of Park, which he describes in so circumstantial a manner, as to leave no doubt that he relates a real scene. It may have been the calamity of other white men. "Park," says Terasso-wea, "was killed at Yauri, higher up than Bussah, which he never reached. His pilot, a native of Yauri, was set ashore there, with his wages paid; but he complained before the king that he had been defrauded. Park was stopped and questioned, but refused to answer. The King of Yauri was a tyrant; and recently the populace was in Park's favor. There was a mob about the boat. Park and his party endeavored to escape. The boat was held. A hand that held it was cut off. There followed an affray; and so Park perished."

The Niger was now partly traced. In 1811, Captain Tuckey was sent up the Congo River, with a hope it might prove to be the Niger, and another expedition followed on the trace of Park, to descend the Niger, and perhaps meet Capt. Tuckey. Both expeditions failed of their design, and many lives were lost.

Other attempts at exploration followed, failures all.

Clapperton, Oudney and Denham, in 1822, crossed the Sahara from Tripola, discovering the Kingdom of Bornou and Lake Chad. Clapperton, through Soudan, came to Socatoo, a capital of the Felatah country, and there heard that he was near the Niger.

In 1825, Clapperton, with Captain Pearce and two other gentlemen, left Badagry for Socatoo. All died upon the way, excepting Clapperton and his servant, Richard Lander. These arrived at Bussah, where they confirmed the account of the death of Park, crossed the Niger, and reached Socatoo. There Clapperton died, possibly poisoned. Lander returned alone, bringing his master's papers.

Major Laing, at the same time, reached Timbuctoo, across the Desert, the first European who had done so. He was murdered by the Arabs in returning, and his papers have not been recovered. M. Caillié, a Frenchman, also reached Timbuctoo, and we possess his narrative.

Richard Lander next offered to trace the River Niger down from Bussah. Furnished with means by Government, he started, with his brother John, from Badagry, reached Bussah, and embarked there with four negroes in an open canoe, protected by umbrellas from the sun. They passed the spot at which the Chadda pours into the Niger a broad stream; at Kiri market they were made prisoners by Ibu traders, and taken before King Obi, from whom they were ransomed by King Boy, of Brasstown, near the outlet of the Niger. This fortunate captivity procured for them a safe conveyance down the last part of the river, and prevented them from floating out in their canoe, helpless, into the broad Atlantic, through the selection of an unfrequented outlet. Thus, as Park was the first who saw the Niger, so Lander was the first who traced it to the sea.

Tidings of ivory brought home by the two Landers induced merchants of Liverpool to fit out a trading expedition. One brig, to wait at the mouth of the river, and two steamers to ascend and return with cargo (the Quorra and Alburkah), went out, in 1832, under the superintendence of Messrs. M'Gregor Laird and Richard Lander. Arriving late, they ascended the river in the season when its flood was falling, and when they reached the confluence of the Chadda, one vessel grounded, and remained fast till the next year's rising of the water. Of forty-seven officers and men, all perished but eight. Mr. Laird, half dead and wholly disappointed, went home in the brig. Lander persevered: Lieutenant, now Captain Allen, who had been sent by the Admiralty with this expedition, for the purpose of making surveys, mapped the Niger up to Rabba, and explored eighty miles upon the Chadda also. Lander fitted out the Alburkah at Fernando Po, to make a fresh ascent, and sent it up the Niger under Mr. Oldfield, the surviving surgeon, presently following himself, in a canoe, with an additional supply of goods. These he exposed on a sand bank in the Delta. He was attacked by the natives, fled down the river, and reached Fernando Po, with a wound from a musket ball in the upper portion of his thigh, of which, in a few days, he died. Mr. Oldfield abandoned the river, and the two steamers rot upon the beach at Fernando Po.

Mr. Becroft, an African trading captain, afterwards ascended the river to the distance of fifty miles beyond Rabba.

In 1841, Government sent out the Niger Expedition, which stands next upon the mournful list—but we must stop now to account for this by a brief sketch of the growth of popular opinion.

Even in the middle of the last century, the iniquity of the principle had aroused Christians here and there, of every sect, from the Quaker to the Catholic, to preach or speak against the trade in men. As for the soil of England, Chief Justice Holt decided that a negro coming into England becomes free.

The abolition of the Slave Trade had been agitated, and it was in the same year, 1788, from which we date the commencement of African discovery by the formation of the African Society, that the first bill was passed putting a check upon the slave traffic. Sir William Dolben's Bill, passed on the 10th of July, in that year, enforced attention to the health and comfort of the slaves on shipboard.

In 1792, the King of Denmark took the lead, by formally prohibiting all Danes from the purchase, sale, or transport of any slaves whatever.

Exportation of slaves was prohibited by the United States in 1794.

Importation of slaves into British Colonies was prohibited in 1806, after a long ferment of debate. In 1807, an Act was passed, declaring the British trade in slaves, with Africa, to be unlawful traffic, and imposing a penalty of one hundred pounds for every slave sold or removed from Africa by any British subject.

Importation of slaves was prohibited by the United States in the same year.

Between 1816 and 1833, decrees tending to abolish Slavery were passed in Mexico, and in republics of Central and South America—Guatemala, Columbia, Peru, Chili, &c.

In 1833 the great Act passed, emancipating all the negro slaves in British Colonies, and decreeing payment of twenty millions in compensation to the slave-owners. The emancipoted slaves remained under a five years' apprenticeship, and became entirely their own masters on the 1st of August, 1838. In 1843 many millions of slaves received liberty in British India. In 1845 Sweden emancipated all the slaves she had. France still more recently, in 1848, and Denmark, have added three hundred thousand to the sum of liberated slaves. But we are to go back to the Act of 1833.

England, since that date, has considered herself pledged to active and unwearied labor for the abolition of all trade in human beings among civilized communities. We do not sneer at her philanthropy, nor call her championship Quixotic. It is a fit work for a great country to set about—that is a truth raised above discussion. But reason may be shown for doubting whether we are quite right in some portion of our tactics. Since 1833 England has sought to enter into treaties, and has succeeded in obtaining treaties with the whole of Europe, with a great part of America, and also with native chiefs of Africa, by which all pledge themselves to aid in the extinction of the Slave Trade. She has done no harm, at any rate, by that; at least, the moral force of a vast vote of censure is brought to bear against the wickedness.

So now we come back to the Niger Expedition of the year 1841, a treaty-making enterprise. This consisted of two large steamers, the "Wilberforce" and "Albert," and a small one, the "Soudan," with the "Amelia" tender. The steamers were cumbered with a bulky and useless ventilating apparatus (Dr. D. B. Reid *fecit*), and with a variety of edifying agricultural machines and implements for a proposed Model Farm of the African Civilization Society. Mr. Carr went out, from the society, as superintendent of this farm. After many delays, the expedition, on the 15th of August, entered the Nun branch of the Niger. The river was ascended to the confluence of the Chadda, whence the "Soudan" and the "Wilberforce," under Captain W. Allen, with nearly all sick, returned, on the 19th of September, to the coast. The "Albert," with Captain Trotter and Commander Bird Allen, pushed on as far as Egga, before turning back. A dismal spectacle, a very plague-ship, it was met and towed by Capt. Becroft in the "Ethiope," and as it reached the bar of the Nun encountered the "Soudan" on the point of entering in search of its disabled companion. The "Amelia" had been left opposite the Model Farm, from which the superintendent, Mr. Carr, had come down to the sea in search of health. Mr. Carr rashly returned, with goods, in native canoes, and was never again heard of—doubtless murdered in the Delta. Lieutenant Webb re-ascended the Niger, to remove the Model Farm, if necessary, and found it in a state of miserable disorganization, in consequences of gross misconduct of the settlers. It was removed, and so the expedition ended. Several treaties had been made with native chiefs, and fifty-three lives lost.

Captain Becroft has since ascended again as far as Rabbah.

In addition to these explorations of the Niger, adventurous trips have been made across the country; among others, into the domirions of the King of Dahomey, more than once. Profiting, therefore, by the active labors of our countrymen, we can sit by the fireside and travel in their track. Brave and high-minded men, zealous to substitute a civilizing commerce for a shameful traffic, cleep in a hundred graves upon the field whereon they battled for humanity. Youth, genius and zeal, age and experience, the practised traveller, the gifted young physician on the threshold of a life all promise—Park, Clapperton, Lander, Bird Allen, and others, alas! more than we may name—lie buried there among the palms. Surely they have not died in vain.

It is but a sail of six weeks to the Bight of Benin, to that part of the coast of Africa which is the hotbed of the slave-market. The Niger, a great river, navigable for hundreds of miles, with branching and tributary navigable streams, forms an easy highway into Africa. That Europe should use this highway as a means of carrying the spirit of healthy commerce, and all its attendant blessings, into an injured sister continent, became, after the Niger was discovered, the first natural and obvious idea. Trial was made at once by the Liverpool merchants, with a horrible result. Alluding to the first muster of his men on board the Quorra, Mr. Laird says, "the crew were all picked men, from twenty-five to thirty-five years of age; and little did I think, as I beheld their athletic and powerful frames, that in a few months the only survivors of us would be *myself and three others*." The expedition of 1841 alarmed all minds with the same fearful warning. Who will go out to travel on that stream of death?

Fortunately safe, in our Phantom Ship, we now step over instantly to Sierra Leone, and call at Freetown for some Kroomen. There are two tribes there, Kroomen and Fishmen, not very fond of one another. The Kroomen cut wood and serve as relief to the white crews on European vessels. They are a fine native race, well formed and muscular, with more than the average of African intelligence. They have great faith in Europeans, according to their own expression. "White man go to de debil, Krooboy follow." When the expedition of 1841 panted to leave the Niger, and the Kroo woodcutters could not keep pace, in their toil, with the impatience of the sufferers, knee-deep in water they cheerfully worked over-hours, and kindly bore the natural expressions of impatience. Afterwards, at Fernando Po, instead of dispersing themselves idly ashore, their first thought was to go and kneel down by the beds of the sick officers, and speak with a gentleness of sympathy that, as the listeners remarked, was in peculiar contrast with their large athletic forms.—"Krooboy love white man too much"—and white man honors Krooboy. Lander seems to be the only traveller who did not thoroughly appreciate this worthy race.

The Kroomen, being properly acclimatized, are taken by most vessels on coast service, to save the whites, and are required for Niger navigation, which, to them, is by no means deadly. If ever the Niger be made—as it must and will eventually—a great highway for European commerce, we must be indebted to the Kroomen for it. So we take Kroomen on our Phantom Ship and steer directly for Cape Nun.

Surely the clouds are off to a committee meeting; they scud all eastward and take up their stations in a semicircle. Take notice and prepare. There is a foam track flying to us on the water. Cannons, whirlwinds, thunder and spoondrift, that's a tornado. Wait a bit, says a sailor, "it's only old Nature sneezing." It's over now with a heavy rain and the air wonderfully freshened.

Here is Cape Nun; a bar of sand to be crossed only at high water, stretches across the Nun branch of the Niger. Our countrymen of 1841 called it "the Gate of the Cemetery." The Niger spreads out over the last one hundred and sixty miles of its course into many branches, which discharge the waters of that river by twenty-two mouths—the Benin, Nun, Benny, and others—into the sea. These branches inter-communicate, and all the country over which they flow is called the Delta. The Nun branch is the only one explored, and a creek so narrow that a vessel is sometimes unable to turn round in it, is, in one part, the only passage known to be safe. It is called Louis Creek.

The dwellers beside the river are in this part of its course a miserable race; sickly in appearance, vexed with skin diseases, and especially with craw-craw, a Brobdignagian kind of itch, afflicting all the body. Near enough to the coast to be demoralized by intercourse with Europeans, the natives of the Delta seem to be inhospitable as their swamps. As we pass through the mangroves there rises into the cool morning air a thick oppressive vapor; it looks like the smoke of wood fires; it is oppressive even to the smell. That is the Niger poison. Pass on and exult in health; escaping from the mangroves and the meanders of the Delta, float over the magnificent spectacle of a great river in the tropics; think yourself sound; but you have swallowed poison—most probably, too, in a fatal dose. It gives you sixteen days for respite; but on the sixteenth day the poison works. You think that you have got into a sickly portion of the river, that is not the case; but in passing through the Delta, you accepted a heavy bill of mortality, and it has now come due. In plain words, there is an interval of sixteen days between the reception of the poison, and its fatal outbreak. In the case of the Liverpool expedition, after the sixteen days were complete, the sweep of fever and death were terrible. Men fell one after the other as though suddenly brought up under an unseen battery. In 1841, there was the same reprieve—the same fortnight of false confidence followed by a check little less severe. In the main river itself there is nothing peculiarly deadly.

Before leaving the Delta we will pay a visit to King Boy of Brass-town. Among the potentates of the river King Boy has most to do with Europeans. Living near the sea, he trades with the interior for palm oil, but chiefly for slaves, has his own barracooons, and retails his wares at about three hundred per cent. probably on what he paid for them. Of him the Europeans buy. King Boy rules, or ruled—he may now be dead—at Brass-town, down a branch or creek of his own, though, by-the-by, there is another chief, King Jacket, on the other side. King Boy is or was a most unmitigated rascal. We follow him in company with Mr. Oldfield, to his capital, on board a boat heavily laden. His Majesty with a cunning, coarse face, and red eyes, is attired in a Scotchman's dress, a present from England, the deficiency in which he has supplied with a huge pair of Turkish trowsers, fastened outside, the skirt of his kilt being tucked into them. He shouts to his subjects as he enters Brass-town, through a long speaking trumpet, his own praise. His mother, an old wretched looking negress, sits on the bank. They give her six glasses of rum, which make her to caper. We land. Here's a capital! Mud, dirt, rats, and huts—the river floods it. His Majesty takes us to the abode of a favorite wife, who has prepared dinner—goat's flesh boiled with the hair on. Here is the sleeping apartment of his palace, ankle-deep in mud, with a raised part moderately sloppy, on which we may spread a mat—there is no other furniture. We are awakened by alarming uproar; there must be men breaking through the roof. We shout aloud for help, and all is quiet. We are still: our hearts beat—there they are at work again. Rats jovial in the roof. The thatch is full of them; the floor is riddled with rat-holes. We will not stay long with King Boy of Brass-town.

The number of kings in Western Africa is very large; the power of each accords with his physical strength and his possessions. On each side of the Cameroons is a king, and the two kings differ in one being painted red, the other white. One of these is a fine old man who has, after a fashion common with Coast Africans, fitted up for his honor and glory, a house of two stories, with chairs, tables, and European odds and ends; that is the manifesto of his wealth; without it he was a boy—having it, he is a man, a "big man" enough to be a king. He has procured of some ship's carpenter a painted signboard, with his name, KING AQUA, painted on it in large Roman letters. This he has fixed over his house door; unluckily, however, upside down; and the *tout ensemble* can contemplate with dignified humility from the door of the small hut down by the river-side, in which he lives. His palace is a fiction of the best bright poker class. There is also among these monarchs a due consideration of the necessity of preserving what we in Europe call the balance of power. A red coat given to "that rascal over the way," excites indignation in a slighted prince.—Lieutenant Allen meeting a chief who thus believed himself insulted, was regarded wrathfully. "Plenty bad bob for you" (bob in the Cameroons means a palaver or scolding)—"plenty too much bad bob;" this was bold menace.

Leaving the coast and King Boy, our Phantom Ship has passed the Delta, and, after one hundred and sixty miles of passage from Cape Nun, is at length really in the Niger. Very soon we shall reach Eboe.

What glorious magnificence of wood and water! The splendid African oak, the cotton tree, with its huge stem, the fibres of which are totally unfit for the Manchester market, and the light feathery plumes of the palm trees nodding over them against the deep blue sky! Here and there a gay hippopotamus is flirting with her friend, or dropping with a loud splash from the banks into the current. Higher up you may see these good-humored beasts in parties of a dozen. Alligators, too! The natives cut up alligators, and consider them good meat. They have a quaint way of catching them. One negro darts a spear into his tail, pinning him to the ground, and holds him in that manner, twisting and leaping up and down the pivot he has made to keep it steady, and to hold the alligator safe. While his companion is thus wriggling and grimacing in a dance over the victim's tail, another with a long knife capers about his head, and darts in to inflict a wound as often as he can do so without a risk. So at length the alligator being slain, is dragged up high and dry, cut into portions, and sold—as we might say—in pennyworths.

The huts in this lower part of the river are all square, higher up they are round, and then from that point throughout the interior—so far as we know—the huts of the natives are in all cases round. Fishing-nets suspended over the stream are part of the furniture of every village.

Now we are at Eboe, the first native town of any note since we have left the Delta. Here lives King Obi. King Obi is a tautological expression. Obi means king in that part of the world, and is the title of the chief. Just in the same way the next large town as we ascend the river Iddah—is governed by an Attah (Father) who was called King Attah by the early travellers.

King Obi does a great deal of business in palm oil and slaves. King Boy kisses the ground before him, as a shrewd country traveller will bow before a customer with whom he does a thriving business. Obi sells to Boy, and others like him; these traffic with the merchants on the coast. King Obi was one of those who signed a treaty for suppression of the slave trade, on the faith of other commerce being substituted for it. We may state here our conviction, once for all, that as far up as Rabbah, or the country inhabited by the Felatahs, the native chiefs are not only ready, but anxious for commerce with the Europeans. Supposing the grand obstacle of the Delta vanquished, and granting that the first traders must inevitably lose money from loss of time, through unpreparedness, and inexperience, on the part of the natives—if we may boldly imagine these difficulties overcome, there is nothing whatever in the disposition or habits of the people to impede a friendly intercourse profitable to us and to themselves. Slavery is not in their eyes iniquitous; it is so to few rude nations; it was not so even to the cultivated Greeks, and even in Europe the growth of mind has only lately brought us to an understanding—and still it is but a faint impression—of the dignity and value of a human being. It is a great truth, even now, but faintly dawning on the most enlightened nations of the earth. Our gutters show that England is a long way from the proper comprehension of it. We must not, therefore, quarrel with the Africans for treading in the path that our forefathers trod. The spirit of trade is among them. There is less evidence of trading spirit in the multitude of boats floating with cargoes on the Rhine, than on the Niger. That was remarked by an intellectual man who had sailed up both rivers. There are more slaves than oil-barrels, because there is more demand for slaves, and it has been throughout the policy of slave traders to extinguish and suppress all other traffic.

A striking example of this fact occurs in the case of the Shea butter-tree. Shea butter is obtained from a plant, not unlike the laurel, which grows luxuriantly in many parts of the interior. It occurs in so great abundance, that large quantities can be obtained, and were obtained by the natives, when the slave-traders on the coast became alarmed lest the chief should discover that this butter might be made an article of commerce, and nothing must distract their attention from the slave-hunting business.—They, therefore, labored with success, and obtained an edict from the King of Dahomey, for the destruction of Shea butter-trees in his dominions. War is waged against them—they are burned down as fast as they spring up, and still they spring up again year after year—an eternal, active protest against man, who wilfully destroys a gift of his Creator, lest the light of its blessing should be shed upon the dark path he has resolutely chosen.

We cannot afford time to stop at Eboe. In passing we may note one or two superstitions. The Eboe woman who gives birth to twins is regarded as an especial object of Fetiche wrath, and becomes for the rest of her life an outcast. To hold up two fingers, or to call her Abo-wadakri (mother of twins) is the greatest affront that can be offered to an Eboe woman. Another prejudice, equally curious, is that which causes them to sacrifice all children who cut their first tooth in their upper jaw. This they believe to be the premonitory of a savage disposition. Our Phantom Ship floats on to Iddah, the next capital, between which place and the sea, Eboe is not much more than half way.

We examine the town and its well thronged markets, see abundant evidence of a spirit of trade, and incipient civilization. Country cloth is more expensive than the cloth of Manchester, on account of the rude and slow process of native manufacture; but cloth is woven, and moreover, very beautifully dyed. The dyes, however, are not fined. Hides are tanned into leather for various uses—there are steel implements, bits for the horses, and well tempered weapons. They smelt ore in a furnace, dice-box shaped, and aided by bellows of peculiar construction, not unlike the method of an air pump, only that of course they are to pump the air in instead of out.—The iron afterwards heated on charcoal is worked into material of exceedingly good quality, and rude inscriptions on the weapons are sometimes attempted. The money of the country is preferred as a medium of exchange to any species of barter, the money of course being here, as in all Negroland, cowries. Two thousand cowries are about worth a shilling. They are kept on strings in rows of more or less than a hundred, the number on a string being proportioned in each district to the value of the cowry, so that the value of a string is in all parts pretty much the same. The cowry itself increases gradually in its worth as we pass inland. As small change to represent fractionrl payments of amounts less than a cowry, earth-nuts are used. Leaving the market and the market-keeper—a deformed man in most places—who preserves order therein with a huge whip, we pay a visit to the Attah.

That, however, is an affair by no means simple.—The potentate of Africa has forms and ceremonies, no less than the potentate of Europe. We will skip the preliminary forms, and get into his waiting-room, or hut, or court. Here we learn what it is to dance attendance on the great. The officers, in 1841, after long patience, received a message from his highness, that "he wished God to bless them, but it rained to day, and, as rain never falls on the King, he could not receive them." Word was sent back that Englishmen could not be trifled with. Accordingly, with noise and drumming, and the twenty-washer-woman-power of chatter which characterizes negro populations, presently his Majesty revealed himself on the withdrawal of a curtain. Too magnificent to speak he has an officer, his "Mouth," to say aloud what the Attah whispers in his ear, and while the Attah whispers, all the people make a noise, to prevent any but the "mouth" from hearing him. The "mouth" told our countrymen that the Attah had come after the message, believing that they were able to stop the rain, but he was surprised to find it rained as much as ever. However, he drank water with them, the African ceremonial of friendship, and ate goora nut with them, the African civility—their substitue for our old formal cake and wine. He grumbled at the presents, through his "mouth," and magnified his own greatness, of which they were unworthy. When he coughed, ate, or drank, or when he laughed, his face was veiled with the fans carried by attendants: nobody must see the Attah yeilding to the wants and impulses of ordinary men. On the whole, this Attah behaved very well, and is a well beloved chief, unlike his predecessor. An officer returned for some forgotten papers, after the audience was over, and found his majesty naked of all splendor, surrounded by his ministers of state, capering and chattering over his presents with child-like simplicity. The former Attah was a hateful tyrant, and the despotism of their chiefs, restrained only by the fear of poison from the headmen, is sometimes, whether in Africa or Russia, power terribly misused. A child picked up a snip of velvet, about two inches long, from a boat, when the Liverpool expedition was off Iddah. The little fellow made a bag of it, and put some seeds in for a charm, which he hung in the usual way about his loins.—Presently, he was brought before the predecessor of present Attah, reviled for wearing "king's cloth," and at a sign his head was rolling on the floor.

Africans, according to their rank, abound in wives and domestic slaves. A king over much territory will have five hundred wives. The women are only considered lovely in proportion to their fat; some of them might be first cousins to their neighbor hippopotamus. The slaves are not worse treated than the wives. Domestic slavery in Africa itself is not a very bitter servitude. The African who has not been a slave is almost always a good-humored master.

We quit Iddah, and continue our course up the stream. The country now assumes a new aspect, being mountainous. The Kong mountains touch the Niger here, and now we come to the next notable point upon the stream, the confluence of the broad water of the Chadda. The Chadda has been explored only for about a hundred miles; it is supposed to flow through Lake Chad, in the interior, the lake being, perhaps, an expanse of the river. Nearly opposite the confluence is the spot where the model farm was landed, and the gay tent which had figured in the Eglintoun tournament was put up for the accommodation of the colony.

We will take the opportunity of running up the Shary to Fundah, where Mr. Laird lay for a fortnight, almost dead. The King of Fundah was in his day a provoking rascal. After an audience with his Majesty, a portly personage, Mr. Laird was invaded in his hut by an old woman, the king's mother, and a cunning, wiry-looking little man. These worried for presents. The woman was soon satisfied, not so the man, who was at length kicked out in a summary manner. This little man turned out to be his Majesty himself, who wore "bombast"* on state occasions. Horse-races afterwards took place at Fundah. African horses are all small; and as the riders on this occasions were stuffed into the appearance of so many Falstaffs, the effect was of course very ridiculous. The Africans admire rotundity, perhaps, because their own climate favors it. Travellers note their own tendency to become fat in the Niger: Lander became in the phrase of his last companions, "as broad as he was long." The quantity of palm-oil mixed with food may assist in bringing about this result.

Talking of fat reminds us again of the negro women. They are as busy as the men, and shrewder traders. But there is no exception to the note of testimony in their favor. When Mr. Laird was at Fundah, ill-used by the king, reduced by disease to an irritable skeleton, covered with craw-craw, it could have been nothing but the pure impulse of a woman's heart that made the females risk beatings to bring him food and consolation. The stout black ladies with their anklets, their armlets, their henna-stained nails, and their wash to counteract the odor of black skin, are true women. Near the coast it is usual to drown one wife as a sacrifice upon the husband's death; but up the river this custom probably is not observed. There is a substitute in the custom of giving "sassay water" (poison), with many ceremonies, to any wife suspected of having been a scold and a torment to the deceased. If she be innocent—that is to say if she be rich enough to bribe the priests—the dose of poison is not fatal to her. There is then a ju-ju or religious ceremony, in which, with a wild dance, and sundry odd proceedings, she comes pure out of the trial.

Our Phantom ship continues its course up the the stream. Here is a village burning; the trembling natives huddled on a sand-bank in the middle of the stream, shrieks from the village and the galloping of horsemen. Those horseman are Felatahs, a fierce race, who are a scourge to the mild natives in their neighborhood. They make a business of slave-catching. When they approach a village, as they come on horseback, and do not use canoes, all who can paddle off to any bank or island, or across the stream, are safe from capture. Those who remain are victims, and the village is destroyed. These Felatahs were extending their ravages lower and lower down the stream, until they menaced the poor Attah or Iddah himself, at the date of our last accounts. But, at the same time, the natives higher up were organizing a conspiracy to make reprisal. Mr. Becroft, on a recent visit up the Niger, found Rabbah, the Felatah capital, laid waste: so we may suppose the plot to have, so far, succeeded. But Rabbah is subject to Soccatoo, and from Soccatoo vengeance probably would come, and the Feletahs be more fierce than ever.

We will go up to Rabbah, the Felatah city, the highest point to which the Niger has been mapped. It is by far the largest town we have yet seen upon the river, covering much space, with extensive suburbs. Men may be seen galloping along the quay on fine Arabian horses. A dead horse, or a dead man may be found rotting on the highway, where we land. The Feletahs, who are all Mussulmen, have a striking appearance in their mysterious turbans, from which folds pass over the face, so that the keen eyes only are visible, as with the Tauricks.—They are first-rate riders; and, galloping about on their Arabians, saluting each other with animated gestures, carrying bows and poisoned arrows, they show themselves to be more than a match for the simple-minded, impulsive negroes. There are here, also, busy markets, and more stinks than Coleridge ever counted in Cologne; all the offal of the beast-market lies in the town rotting under a tropical sun. The turkey buzzards there enjoy a paradise, and get between your legs.

It is well known they say at Rabbah, that the whites eat black men. This fiction was invented by the slavers, and has travelled up the stream. The poor negroes have unbounded belief in the white man's power. It is easy for him, therefore to excite in Africans a display of cowardice. The negroes are found often to tell lies, and are caught stealing—the same is true, we fear, of white communities. While delayed opposite one village, Mr. Oldfield, lying in his cabin, saw a woolly head pop through the cabin-window, and a long arm reached towards a dressing-case. He caught the culprit by the ears, and called down others to assist in holding him, while two men stepped into the canoe outside, and found him placed conveniently for a whipping. The next day the king of the village thanked the Europeans for the correction bestowed upon his son (for the crown prince was the delinquent), a sad scapegrace. When the "Albarkah" ran aground she was unloaded and her wares exposed upon the bank, but slightly guarded, yet nothing was lost. There are rascals in all nations. The impulsive nature of the Africans makes many of them ask for everything they have a wish to have; but, if it be not given them, they do not sulk. They think, no doubt, with the Sandwich Islander, who was asked whether refusals did not disappoint him, "Oh no," he said, "I thought it I asked for a thing, you possibly might give it me, but it was quite certain you wouldn't if I didn't speak." We must quit the Niger now, remarking only that it is not yet proved whether the Niger can be entered safely or no when its stream is at the flood—safely, we mean, by fairly acclimatised Europeans. The Kroomen run but a small risk in the Delta.

Time does not remain to us for the visit we intended paying to Dahomey. We may just allude to the lagoons within the coast by which slave cargoes are conveyed in canoes from point to point. Striking inland we may enter the dominions of the King of Dahomey, one of the most powerful of native chiefs, and reach his capital, Abomey. He is a man of more than average ability, with a sincere respect for the English. He is a great slave-hunter, carrying on his operations by means of a large army of women. These women make their attack with a swift run, and are trained to climb barefooted and unhurt, over the thick fences of enormous thorns which are the usual fortifications of a town in Africa. Those who resist are killed and scalped; but those who yield without resistance, are tied with a cord, which each Amazon carries for the purpose, and marked with chalk upon the back, that the captor may afterwards identify her property. After the siege, each woman is praised and rewarded according to her deeds. The king's wives form the principal and bravest band.

To justify each slave-hunt, quarrels are invented; but revolting as this most unquestionably is, we must allow fair credit to the present king. He follows the customs of his forefathers with so much enlightenment that he has abolished many barbarous laws, and introduced many just and equitable practices. He means well, he respects the English, and is to all appearance willing to abolish slave hunting and slave-trading in his dominions. But, as our Chancellors of the Exchequer say of our window-tax, without it what is to become of the finance? The King of Dahomey will throw up his part in the slaver's game, if we will show him how to thrive by other commerce.

Merchant ships are the true African blockade.—Experience is proving on the coast of Africa, what has been proved every year since the Creation, that physical force is but a weak antagonist to moral wrong. We doubt whether moral force is brought to bear on a large scale, by the direct action of missionaries on the uncivilized mind. One Simon Jonas, left with Obi to improve his soul, was made court tailor, Obi beginning with the body first. History proves that commerce is the great means ordained by Providence for the improvement and advancement of the human race. For this the Africans are ripe. They do not see the moral wrong of Slavery—no uncivilized nation ever yet did. But they are quite ready to believe white men, who say that it is wrong, and show them what is better; they are eager for instruction from the white man's wisdom. Unfortunately we have as yet been able to do little but exhort the natives on this text. The difficulties in the way of action certainly are great. It is our firm conviction that they can and will be overcome.

* Our ancestors at one period wore clothes stuffed largely with wool, &c., which was called bombast.

A HUNGARIAN LEGEND.

Once upon a time there was a man who had three sons. 'My sons,' said he one morning, 'you have hitherto seen and learnt nothing; it is time for you to know the country, and the world generally; therefore set off as soon as possible, and go as far as your eyes can reach.' The three sons got ready for the journey: and when each of them had packed up some toasted cakes in his knapsack, they took leave of the paternal house. After they had proceeded a little way, they stopped to rest themselves; and then the two elder proposed that, like good brothers, they should have all things in common; that first they should eat the cakes of the youngest, when these were finished, those of the second, and lasty those of the eldest. This plan was agreed upon; and on the first day the cakes of the youngest were eaten; but when on the second day the time came for a snack, the two elder brothers would not let the lesser one eat with them; and when he demanded his rights, they put out his eyes, and left him to starve. We will let them go both their own way, and see what became of the poor blind lad.

He resigned himself wholly to Providence, and went groping about; when all of a sudden he fell into a ditch. In this there was no water, but plenty of mud; and when he fell in he was bespattered all over. He now felt quite a new man; for after the mud had moistened his face and the sockets of his eyes, he saw everything clearly; the magic power contained in the moisture restored his eyes to their places, and had even changed his countenance in the handsomest manner.

The youth now scraped up as much of the mud as he could into some potsherds, and sauntered on. Suddenly he observed a mouse which lay crushed, and which sneaked to him for help. When he heard this, he wetted the mouse with the wonderful mud; upon which she immediately recovered, and gave her benefactor a fife, telling him that if ever he was in any difficulty he need only blow it, and she would come to his assistance, as queen of the mice, with all the mice in the world. Going a little further, he saw a bee which had been trodden upon, and which he healed with his mud. From her also he received a fife, which, if he blew it in the time of danger, would bring the queen-bee to his assistance. Pursuing his journey still farther, he found a wolf that had been beaten and wounded. At first he did not like to heal him, fearing that he should be eaten up for his pains; but the wolf supplicated him so long that he at last smeared him with the mud, which made him very big and streng. The wolf also gave the youth a fife to be used in times of difficulty.

Our youth now went slowly on, till at last he came to the chief city, and hired himself as one of the king's servants. His two brothers were also in service there: and when they recognized him they tried in every possible way to destroy him. After many vain attempts, they went to the king and assured him that their brother had told them he could bring into the king's granary all the corn in the whole country. The youth protested that he knew nothing about this; but the king ordered him to be hanged unless the corn was in the granary on the following day. For a long time the boy wept; when suddenly recollecting his fife, he piped for the mouse, told her his difficulty, and by midnight all the corn was gathered in from all parts of the country.

The next day the brothers were more embittered against him than ever, and pretended to the king he would build a handsome bridge of wax from the royal palace to the market-place. This task was also imposed upon him; but scarcely had he sounded his second fife when the bees flowed to his assistance and completed the work. In the morning the king looked with astonishment on the elegant arches of the bridge.

The brothers being now ready to burst with spleen, told the king to order the younger one to drive the twelve strongest wolves into his court on the following day. They now thought they were sure of victory, because either the wolves would eat their brother, or if he did not perform the task, the king would have him hanged They were, however, again deceived. The youth sounded the third fife, and the wolf-king appeared at his command. The youth explained his difficulty; when the wolf brought not only twelve of his subjects, but all the wolves of the country, into the king's court. The youth now seated himself on the wolf-king's back, and with a whip in his hand drove before him the enormous herd, who bore down and tore to pieces all who came before them. There was a sound of howling, weeping, and wailing, in the royal residence; but it was of no avail. The king promised a sack of gold; but this was of no avail, for the wolf-king kept crying out, 'On, on!' The king now promised he would give more—two—three—ten—twenty sacks of gold; but all was of no avail. The wolves tore every one to pieces; here lay the brothers—there lay the king with all his insolence—the king's daughter only was spared. The youth took her for a wife; assumed the royal government himself; was happy, and is happy still, if he is not dead. To-morrow, so he says in his last letter, he will give us a call.—*Stier